

Threat to free press in Britain

All nations that cherish both the freedom of the press and the rights of labor are — or ought to be — watching what is happening in that bastion of free expression, Britain. There a pending piece of Labour government legislation would strengthen the National Union of Journalists' bargaining position at the cost of an insupportable threat to press freedom.

The threat comes in the law's provision that not only reporters but editors can be dismissed from their jobs if they refuse to join the union when a "closed shop" has been negotiated. The Journalists' union (NUJ) now gives editors the choice of whether to join or not. Thus a vital option has been maintained for the persons with central responsibility for preserving fairness and freedom in the collective enterprise of getting out a newspaper.

But at a recent NUJ conference moderate elements were overwhelmed by the vote for a resolution demanding that all editors join the union and participate in strikes. If this view prevails, with the encouragement of the proposed legislation, the present alarm of British editors will be justified — and so will a healthy concern by editors elsewhere to ensure that such a concept does not spread. British editors argue that the combination of union pressure and the new law could lead to the exclusion of all material, including that by contributors, not written by union members. Such an outcome would close some papers.

At a minimum the law ought to include the amendments, called for by the House of Lords, guaranteeing editors the right to "commission or publish articles free from pressure by industrial action" and to "retain their traditional independence and freedom from any obligation to join a union."

This is not to say that British editors have always used freedom responsibly or that they must not remain as alert to business and governmental pressures as to labor pressures. The editors, indeed, are said to be as much concerned by governmental encroachments as by left-wing restraints.

A union spokesman minimizes fear of union inroads on press freedom by noting that the NUJ's code of conduct emphasizes "the freedom of the editor being protected from censorship by government, trade union or proprietor." But this rings hollow in the light of some union actions — such as the episode last fall when the NUJ ordered a boycott on news items handled by nonunion members and thus effectively closed down scores of provincial papers.

It is crucial that efforts on behalf of an effective bargaining position for newspaper employees not create the crushing irony of destroying the essence of the institution they are working for.

Nuclear club: members only

How do the members of an elite and powerful club make everybody else happy not to join it?

This is a basic question posed to the countries already possessing nuclear weapons as Geneva talks begin in a renewed effort to prevent the potentially catastrophic spread of such weapons. How to deter the increasing number of countries developing a capability to "go nuclear" if they choose?

The answers lie in reducing the apparent advantages of belonging to the nuclear weapons club — and reducing the disadvantages of staying out of it.

Specific means to these ends are being discussed in the conference to review the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which began in Geneva yesterday. Though public interest has not exactly been galvanized by the treaty with the jaw-breaking name, progress at the conference is vitally important if the lid is to be kept on what has so often been called the Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation.

The good news is that there is hope for such progress on the basis of new cooperative efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union. These are signaled by the joint release of policy reports on the subject by a panel of Americans and a panel of Russians under the auspices of the respective United Nations Associations of the two countries.

There are differences along with much fundamental agreement. Particularly significant is an increased Soviet disposition to talk "seriously" about pressing ahead with carrying out the terms of the NPT. At the same time, the United States is more open to the idea of "technology" a panel member who met with the Russians in Moscow in March.

Thailand and U.S. troops

Thailand is moving with characteristic alacrity to accommodate to the emerging communist dominance of Indo-China. The withdrawal over the next two months of another 7,500 American troops is a part of the process, begun long ago, of disengaging from the United States.

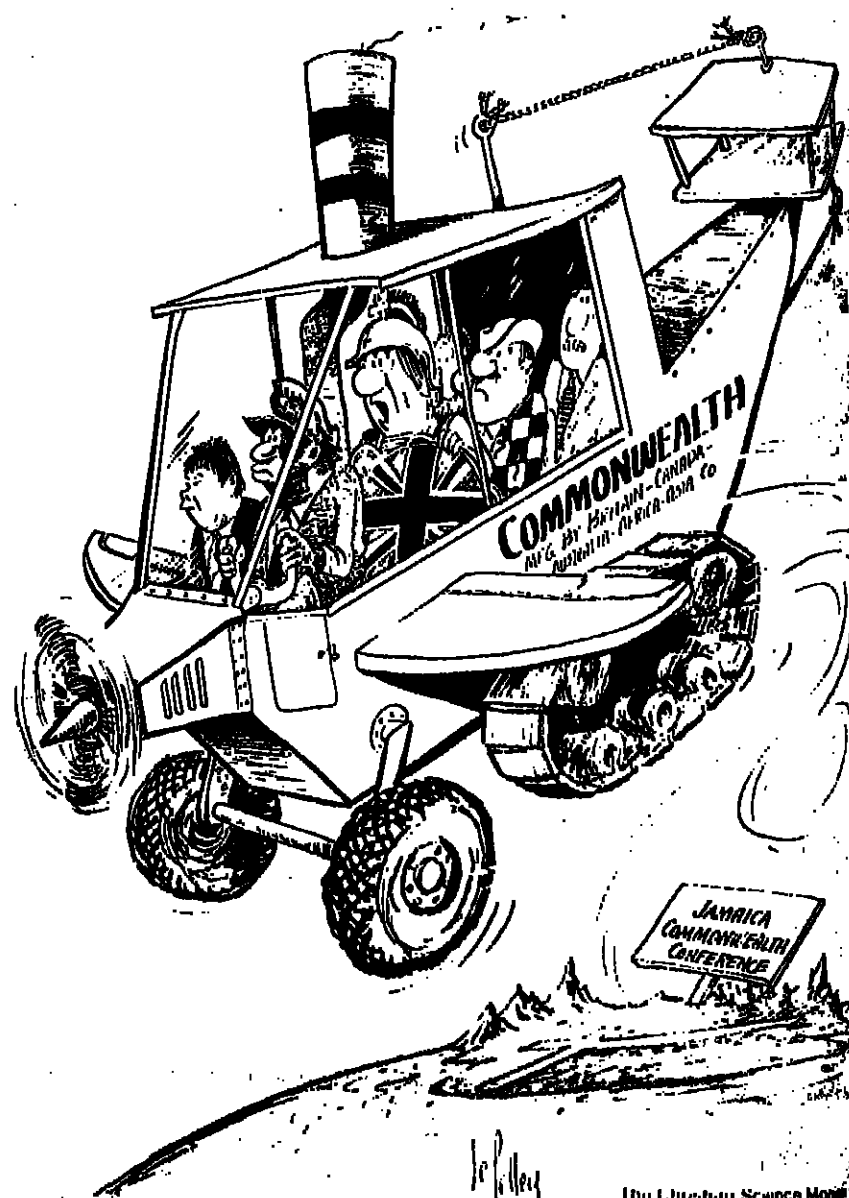
How far that process will be carried — some 19,500 U.S. troops will still remain — is not clear. Thailand's traditional, and shrewd, diplomacy has been to adjust to the realities of the moment in order to keep its independence. Hence Bangkok is trying hard not to offend the

communists, which accounts too for its eagerness to be rid of the Cambodian refugees.

Treading the fine line between accommodation and independence will not be easy, especially in relations with Vietnam. Thailand also has a problem of communist insurgency, thought to be supported by the Chinese and North Vietnamese; serious battles took place only recently. The Thais therefore wish to keep a certain American presence in their country.

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'Strictly speaking, from an aerodynamic standpoint, this won't fly'



Readers write

African appeal

May I second the recent editorial, "An appeal from Africa."

In your hope that the United States will live up to its revolutionary origins and give support to the forces in Africa seeking to create noncommunist conditions for freedom and human growth, I assure you that you are not alone, and that if the American Government at present is snobbish and lagged in its understanding of what's happening in this new world of ours, I assure you thousands and millions of American youth are not. For, inevitably, they have been born into this new world, and when the Kennedys and even the Kennedys are long gone, those who love freedom in the U.S. will still be very much alive, and they will also love freedom in Africa and everywhere.

And there are very many of us in America, among the youth, who espouse no radical politics but who deeply sympathize with President Kaunda's mission — and, while sympathizing ultimately with the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, also know the tragedy of the white people there, and wish him well, across the inevitabilities and pressures of history. Evanston, Ill.

A recent commentary by Richard Strout criticizing a Monitor editorial shows an inadequate knowledge of Vietnamese history and politics.

Mr. Strout faults the Monitor for defending Henry Kissinger's position that the United States should have honored at least a moral if not a legal commitment to South Vietnam. He claims American involvement in this war has been "immoral" because it was merely an internal political war in a remote area "conducted by guerrillas and feeding on subversion."

Actually, the war in Vietnam has never been a more civil war. The Vietnamese communists

led by Ho Chi Minh began their power against the French in 1946 and were able to inflict heavy losses on the French colonial power only because they had large military assistance from the communists following the end of the war. Ho Chi Minh and his followers represented the large majority of Vietnamese people, and they have been able to use their power to South Vietnam only because of extensive military aid from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Strout's moralistic condemnation of South Vietnam also shows much raises some penetrating ethical and political questions. He abhors the corruption of the Thieu regime, but appears unconcerned in executing thousands of people, and in dating its power and promoting its interests. He chastises Thieu's abuse of power, but ignores the fact that he is the only one who has kept the country from falling into the hands of the communists.

He also faults the United States for not making more use of its moral and political influence to bring about a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. He says that the United States has been "immoral" because it has not made more use of its moral and political influence to bring about a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

Many mistakes have undoubtedly been made by the United States and the South Vietnamese government, but one-sided moral condemnations of American policy makers in a noncommunist regime in Saigon do not confuse the real issues involved in this war and bitter conflict.

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. All are subject to condensation.

Ideologies in retreat

By Joseph C. Harsch

The world landscape is littered in these strange days of May with inconsistencies, surprises, fallen assumptions, and shattered illusions. Ideological cold warriors are pushed into the wings in bewildered incomprehension. Nothing fits the pat shibboleths, clichés, and dogmas of the last generation.

Typical of the times is the story of the seven Soviet diplomats being humiliated unceremoniously out of the Soviet Embassy in Phnom Penh and out of the country. According to one account they were even handcuffed. And this was at the hands of the Communist victors in Cambodia! The Soviets were treated as rudely as were Americans, French, West Germans — or any other "capitalists." What has happened to the "fraternalism of the proletariat?"

There was apparently dreadful human suffering in Cambodia as the Khmers Rouges took over. There have been executions and a sudden clearing out of the cities of most of the population in a manner unknown in modern history anywhere and unprecedented in any other Communist take-over. Its purpose remains unclear. Some think it means a deliberate turnback to a village-peasant culture. Others think it was a device for re-peopleing the cities with only those chosen by the new regime. One can only be sure that it was something new.

A realist all expectations, there was almost a peaceful take-over in South Vietnam, no "bloodbath" that is yet known to the outside world. Western reporters, including Americans, were allowed to remain and intermittently to report. And, up to this writing, there is no immediate effort to bring South Vietnam under official and over Hanoi control. Rather, it seems that the victors intend to keep South Vietnam as a separate state — at least for the time being.

A domino fell in Laos, but in a most unusual way. The country remains a monarchy. There is still a King who is respected by the winning Pathet Lao Communists. Anti-Communist military forces now take their orders from the Communists. There was a brief student demonstration in front of the American Embassy in Vientiane, but it was suppressed by Pathet Lao troops, and the Communist Foreign Minister has specifically not asked the American Embassy to clear out.

Moscow seems to be the favorite outside power in Hanoi, but China is the favorite in Cambodia.

The implication of all that has happened is that behind the surface is the opening round in a new game of power politics for outside influence in Southeast Asia. Moscow, and Beijing are the main contenders and rivals. And that available evidence would seem to indicate that Peking has laid a restraining hand on the shoulder of North Korea's Kim Il Sung.

In other words, we add a few more items to the list showing that the ideology of communism cannot and does not smother nationalisms and conflicts of national interests. Some of the bitterest hostilities of these times are between rival Communist theories and rival Communist states.

And this in turn merely underlines an older lesson in history, that while ideologies can influence history for a time they do not dominate history for long. The words Islam and Christianity still echo times long past when Muslim countries joined together in war against Christian countries, and vice versa. There were religious crusades and religious wars. The last such war which played a major role in history was between Roman Catholics and Protestants and reached its climax with the defeat of the Armada — in 1588.



Rhodesian nationalist leader Ndebele is chaired by supporters in Dar-es-Salaam. Related story, page 13

Black disarray gives Rhodesia a breather

By Henry S. Hayward
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya
Amid talk of forcing white-ruled Rhodesia to terms, black Africa itself seems in a considerable state of disarray at the moment.

In Central and East Africa in particular, black nations are facing so many internal problems that a concerted diplomatic or even military drive against Rhodesia would receive less than full attention.

Even the Organization for African Unity (OAU), black and Muslim Africa's umbrella structure with more than 40 members, is facing a cash crisis that hampers the amount of support it can provide for liberation movements. Reportedly less than half the amount requested for freedom-fighter groups is actually available.

One reason is that only five of the member states, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Sudan, and Mauritius, are said to be up to date with their contributions to the liberation fund. Twenty-four others including Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Gabon are reported seriously in arrears with their OAU payments.

As far as individual nations are concerned, Angola, which is moving toward independence in November, is causing concern because of persistent factional fighting between military organs of its three major liberation movements. This is especially true of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

At present, even Portuguese efforts to hold summit talks among the liberation groups have been rejected. Angles has a common border with South-West Africa (or Namibia as it is called in the United Nations), which is controlled by South Africa, and which black Africans also have pledged to liberate.

The oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, which is part of Angola, meanwhile is said to be threatened by an unidentified "army" poised to invade the territory from nearby Zaïre. Although the report may be exaggerated, it does nothing to allay tension in west Central Africa.

Laotian Reds a hair's breadth from victory

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

There are signs that the Communists, after their recent victories in Cambodia and Vietnam, are trying to force the pace in Laos.

Of the three constituent parts of former French Indo-China — Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos — only Laos is not yet under unquestioned Communist control. Until now the Communists in Laos have participated in a

three-cornered government under the neutral premiership of Prince Souvanna Phouma. The other two parties in that administration, supposedly balancing Communist influence in it, have been pro-American, militarily inclined right-wingers and nationalists like the Prime Minister himself.

But the Communist Pathet Lao has in fact been able to press an advantage in that its armed force holds a large area of the countryside and has refused to let the central government's writ run there despite a cease-

fire and reconciliation that went into effect in 1973 (subsequent to the cease-fire for South Vietnam negotiated in Paris by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger).

Ever since the early days of Ho Chi Minh's struggle against the French presence in Indo-China, the North Vietnamese Communists have treated Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos as a whole. Many observers wondered whether victory in Vietnam and Cambodia might lead them to bring Laos more closely into line, if not under their control. *Please turn to Page 3

NEWS

Africa	13
Defense	7
Europe	3, 4
Indo-China	9, 10
United Nations	5
United States	11, 12
Soviet Union	6

FEATURES

Arts	24, 25
Commentary	31
Editorial	32
Financial	19
Home	22
Home Forum	28, 29
Opinion	30
People	23
Science	18
Translations	26, 27
Travel	20, 21

WHALES:

Do they have an unfathomed language?

Some scientists are convinced that whales communicate and have mental abilities comparable to, but quite different from, man's.

See Page 16

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FOCUS

Films and animal cruelty

By Arthur Unger

New York
"If you love animals, boycott this film." This is a sign you may be seeing more often in front of many movie theaters in the weeks ahead.

"There is an upsurge of unconscionable cruelty to animals in contemporary films and it must be stopped," says Harold Melniker, director of the Hollywood office of the American Humane Association (AHA), a federation of more than 900 animal and child welfare organizations. To this end, the AHA has hopes that its affiliated organizations will take an active part in educating the public to show disapproval — by staying away.

The films are: "The Day of the Locust" (Paramount), "Bite the Bullet" (Columbia), "Posse" (Paramount), "The Wind and the Lion" (MGM), "Lacombe, Lucien" (20th Century Fox).

According to Mr. Melniker, "The Day of the Locust," Paramount's big blockbuster of the year, features a bloody cockfight sequence; "Bite the Bullet" utilizes horse-tripping devices; "Posse," produced and directed by Kirk Douglas, trips horses and includes a sequence in which a horse falls from a cliff into a body of water (Mr. Douglas was previously cited for utilizing horse tripping in the film "Scalliwag"); in "The Wind and the Lion," there is horse tripping; and in the French film "La-

combe, Lucien," there is killing of rabbits and birds.

About a year ago, Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), met with members of the major humane groups in the United States to consider ways to prevent mistreatment of animals in films made for theater or television. "I am convinced," said Mr. Valenti, "that voluntary and cooperative efforts will produce salutary results. No abuse of animals should be tolerated."

Mr. Valenti was trying to head off the legislative approach. As far as he was concerned, the best way to handle the problem was by requesting production companies to voluntarily consult with the AHA, and by working with humane groups to step up efforts to educate the public as to which films fail to observe acceptable standards.

Then, a month ago, California state Sen. David A. Roberti (D) of Hollywood broke the uneasy truce by introducing a bill which would require that, for every picture featuring animals, the producing company must file with the state attorney general a certificate from the AHA or a sworn statement from the producer or director that no animal was killed or abused.

The bill prohibits the exhibitor from selling, offering for sale, or charging admission to view any noncertified motion picture or other presentation, under penalty of being charged with a misdemeanor.

Now, says Mr. Valenti in protest, impose criminal (or civil) liability on the exhibitor is unfair. It is in violation of due process because it requires the exhibitor to prove himself not guilty. The intent is laudable, this bill is of course but serious problems for the industry makes the exhibitors the target.

Mr. Melniker, however, replies, "It becomes obvious that the industry is to handle the situation itself."

"Certainly Jack Valenti deserves credit for trying to convince the industry to regulate itself. But, since the industry code was abandoned in 1968, the official restriction on inhumane treatment of animals, tripping — the whipping of legs so that it will fall in front of the camera — is inhumane and cruel treatment."

Kirk Douglas, for his part, bristles at the AHA "unacceptable" "Posse," which the MPAA has rated "It's infringing on my livelihood," the Monitor. "I have made 15 movies never once has there been an animal in any one of them. I depend upon the advice of my stuntmen."

"Mr. Melniker seems to feel entitled to justify his organization. And then doubt the Roberti bill would put him in a key position to control the use of animals in movies. But, do we need that regulation? Once you start asking where will it stop?"

Meantime, animal welfare is throughout the country are waiting for the final version of the Roberti bill, which it passes the California Legislature serve as a model for similar legislation throughout all 50 states.

France flirts with China

By Dennis Blakeley
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris has been a five-star place this week — and it has nothing to do with gastronomy.

The French, as is their wont, have been putting out flags all over town: the five yellow stars on a red background that is the flag of the People's Republic of China.

The French guest was Teng Hsiao-ping, ranking No. 3 in the Chinese hierarchy. He is the first among equals as Deputy Prime Minister (but much more than that since both Mao and Chou En-lai are ailing).

He is the most senior member of the Chinese Government ever to visit the West. In Paris he was accorded honors normally reserved for a head of state.

Clearly the Chinese are in the process of launching a diplomatic offensive in favor of Western Europe. After the recent visit to Peking of the European Community's Foreign Affairs Commissioner, Sir Christopher Soames, they are to send an ambassador to EC headquarters in Brussels and to conclude a commercial agreement with the community.

Mr. Teng's visit to France (he worked here for five years as a young man in the early 1920s) is another step in promoting European-Chinese accord.

The Chinese are in the process of attempting to set up a united front, especially in the "third world," against what they see as the hegemony of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Part of this strategy is, of course, big-power politics which the Chinese affect to despise. They are in favor of a united Europe because it would act as a

Western bastion against their arch-enemies, the Soviets.

Some, but not all, of this chimes in with French thinking. France, too, claims that it is politically and militarily independent of power blocs. It pursues an independent line in NATO, being in it but not of it. It does not ascribe to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and it thinks that its vital interests do not necessarily coincide with what it calls the "Anglo-Saxon" countries.

In this sense, therefore, there is mutual sympathy between French and Chinese. But France's relations with the Soviet Union are extremely flexible, whereas the Chinese regard Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, not only as an ideological renegade but also as a potential aggressor.

The fly in the ointment in Chinese-French relations is Moscow. It was, after all, only six months ago that Paris gave the same welcome to Mr. Brezhnev that it gave to Mr. Teng this week.

The polite French press has been too discreet to point out this fact, no doubt since it would unduly emphasize that, as between Washington, Moscow, and Peking, France tries to have it all ways, all the time. And surprisingly most of the time, with little room for international maneuver, it succeeds.

Behind the Chinese visit there also is the pattern of trade with China to be considered. France for the moment does little trade with China: it is among Western countries sixth in order of importance on Peking's trading list. It does three times as much trade with the Soviet Union.

Yet, since 80 percent of China's trade now is carried on with noncommunist nations, the



Entente cordiale: French premier Jacques Chirac and wife entertain Teng

latent pickings for the French are potentially great. The French hope to sell helicopters and telecommunications equipment. But by far the biggest trade question mark is whether the Chinese will take up their options on three Anglo-French supersonic Concorde airliners.

There was no hint either way from the Chinese this week.

The result of the visit? It may have shown Moscow that France, with its extremely agile East-West diplomacy, and also with its large pro-Moscow Communist Party, is not to be a pushover for "Finlandization." It has one or two cards up its sleeve before that can happen. China is one of them.

Sordid Italian prisons spark wave of urban terrorism

By David Willey
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Common criminals or a new threat against the security of the state?

That is the question Italians are asking about a new urban guerrilla organization calling itself "Armed Proletarian Units" or NAP for short. The organization burst into the limelight this weekend with the kidnapping of a well-known Rome judge and the staging of a short but violent prison revolt at Viterbo near Rome.

The NAP succeeded in getting three convicts serving long prison sentences for murder and armed robbery transferred from Viterbo to prisons in the north of Italy. It also got the promise that members of NAP at present in jail would be defended by some of Italy's best known criminal lawyers. And it got saturation coverage on television, radio, and in the press for its exploits before it released the judge five days after he had been reported missing from his home.

The ransom paid by the state for the release of Judge Giovanni di Gemaro, an expert on prison reform, was heavy, not in cash, but in loss of prestige by the authorities. It transpired that the three members of NAP who staged the prison revolt had knives, pistols, and sticks of dynamite smuggled in to them to carry out their plan.

The NAP appears to have started its activities in Naples last year. They are thought to have been responsible for simultaneous revolts in prisons in Naples, Rome, and Milan last October.

In March a suspected member of NAP was killed and another seriously injured when a bomb they were preparing blew up in an apartment in Naples.

Police later discovered inside a NAP hide-out a pile of banknotes paid as a ransom for the release of a Naples student who was kidnapped last summer. It had long been suspected by police that some of the recent spate of kidnappings were carried out by political extremists to provide themselves with operating funds.

The NAP is so far out on the left that they have been denounced by the Italian Communist Party.

The party secretary, Enrico Berlinguer,

said in a weekend speech, "These criminals are the sworn enemies of the working class."

The NAP says that Italy's overcrowded prisons are "the key element in social oppression." Off the record, many Interior Ministry officials would agree that conditions in Italian prisons are deplorable. There are some 30,000 hardened criminals, petty offenders, and persons awaiting trial crammed into Italy's 287 prisons.

Among recent prison news that has leaked into the papers is the unsolved murder of an

inmate in a Reggio di Calabria prison, a vendetta crime, the sensational escape of another political prisoner believed to be the head of a left-wing guerrilla group called the "Red Brigades," and revolts and mutinies in half a dozen prisons up and down the Italian peninsula.

Some of the agitation is clearly political, but part is due to protests about the sordid conditions in which most prisoners live.

Attempts at prison reform have been piec-

meal and have not tackled the root causes of unrest.

When television was installed in cells in San Vittore prison in Milan in 1968, within a few days prisoners had modified the sets to pick up police transmissions and even constructed secret walkie-talkies to communicate with contacts outside the prison.

The television sets were later removed when it was found that criminals were running rackets outside the prison by remote control through radio.

Anniversary of Nazi collapse

West Germany recalls 'dark history'

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The defeat of Nazi Germany 30 years ago is being remembered in both East and West Germany this week. But the purpose and tone of the commemorative events are strikingly different.

In East Germany, the Nazi surrender is hailed as the most significant defeat ever of fascist forces by socialist powers. The date celebrated is May 8, when in Karlshorst, near Berlin, the Germans signed a surrender document with the Soviets.

Actually, the German Wehrmacht had surrendered first in Rheims on May 7 with U.S. Lt. Gen. Bedell Smith signing for American and British forces and French and Russian officers witnessing.

But in East Germany and the Soviet Union this week the May 7 date is played down. One Soviet commentator wrote: "Only socialism was prepared to defeat such a powerful and aggressive machine as Hitler's fascism."

The East German Communist Party organ Neues Deutschland commented that the victory over Hitler should be seen as the hour of birth of the socialist world system.

East German radio reported that World War II was no normal European war but that it was the most just war of liberation in world history. And citizens in eastern Europe are told the Soviet Army alone was the victor.

East Germany celebrates along with the Soviets as if they "marched in with the Soviets in 1945," one West German observed.

In West Germany there is no celebration, but leading politicians have urged Germans to remember the past so they can maintain their free political and economic institutions.

"We do not run from our history," West Germany's President Walter Scheel said May 6, during a memorial gathering in a Bonn church. He added: "And the other German state can not run from this joint history, no matter how hard it tries."

He recalled the war in Europe brought 20 million deaths in the Soviet Union alone, 4.5 million in Poland, 4 million in Germany, and 1.5 million in other Western lands.

And he recalled that less than 40,000 Jews now live in West Germany. (Estimates of the number of European Jews killed in Nazi concentration camps run as high as 6 million.)

Mr. Scheel said there are more and more West Germans who do not want to hear of "our dark history."

But Hitler was elected, he said, and "we who are Germans and want to be must not let this dark memory be crowded out . . . because only when we do not forget can we again call ourselves Germans with pride."

The day before the Scheel speech a West German government spokesman read a statement to journalists saying that, although the government had worked to improve relations with East Germany and other "East European

neighbors," it had not lost the goal of a peaceful reunification of the two Germanies.

Hardly a day goes by when one cannot pick up a West German newspaper and see that the day-to-day political events are played out with an ever-present realization of a divided Germany.

But even more striking is the evidence that as a Western partner, West Germany measures its prized democratic institutions constantly against what Mr. Scheel calls a "dark history." That is why the "celebration" in East Germany is such a vivid contrast to the commemorations in West Germany.

As an editorial in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung puts it: "The Federal Republic bore the consequences of the defeat, and it never suffered from delusions about political reality."

Scots teachers for Canada

By the Associated Press

Glasgow
A regional school council in Glasgow says it is launching a search in Canada for teachers to fill more than 1,400 vacant posts in the schools of western Scotland.

A school official, William Harley, said the council is looking especially for retired Canadian teachers and recent graduates from teachers colleges. The biggest demand is for science, mathematics, and language teachers.

Europe

British economy jolted as pound tumbles

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The British economy faces troubled days. Prime Minister Harold Wilson strove valiantly to bolster confidence at home and abroad in a television interview. But the pound May 12 fell to its lowest levels against all major West European currencies.

Externally, Britain's sterling reserves are buttressed by the deposits of Middle East oil producers. As merchant banker Sir Cyril Kleinwort put it in a television interview, the oil producers wish to do nothing to destroy the British economy. They have therefore kept a portion of their oil money in sterling.

But if their basic confidence in the British economy is eroded, they could withdraw their funds, leaving a hole so big that no support operation by the Bank of England could cover it.

[Reuters reported that bankers and dealers in Switzerland and West Germany already noted an increased reluctance by foreigners —

notably Middle East oil producers — to hold sterling.]

Internally, Britain's problems arise from inflation, which for the past year has been fueled principally by wage rises far in excess of production increases. The March inflation rate was officially 21.2 percent, and some economists say the real rate may be closer to 25 percent or even 28 percent.

Mr. Wilson went on TV May 11 first of all to reassure Britons that while they faced great problems, "nothing has happened that in any way affects our ability to overcome them."

He had been in Jamaica for two weeks attending a Commonwealth prime ministers' conference.

He accused CBS commentator Eric Sevareid and others who had aired pessimistic reports about Britain of talking to the "London cocktail circuit" and not to "the people who were doing a job of work either in London or elsewhere."

But Mr. Wilson also took a swipe at one of his most obstreperous lieutenants, Tony Benn, Secretary of State for Industry.

Mr. Benn has been alarming industrialists at home and abroad by talking loudly of prospective nationalizations and of ever-increasing state control over industry. Mr. Wilson compared the smooth-shaven Mr. Benn to a "great Old Testament prophet without a beard," and suggested that if he did not conform to majority Cabinet decisions, once the June 5 referendum on Britain's membership in the European Community (EC) is over, he could go back to the "pleasant and productive life of a back-bencher."

During the referendum campaign period, Cabinet ministers have been allowed to express opinions for or against the EC, within certain guidelines. Mr. Benn has been accused of taking advantage of this unusual freedom to advocate sweeping changes in the whole field of management relations both with government and with workers.

Mr. Wilson also expressed concern about inflation and suggested that the government should get together in three-way talks with industry and trades unions to discuss how much money is available overall, how much should go to wages, how much to profits, how much to various public services.

But his words so far seem to have had little effect. In fact, at a key Chrysler (U.K.) plant in Coventry, where 4,000 engine workers had been threatening a strike, the Wilson remarks seemed to have been counterproductive.

Mr. Wilson accused Chrysler workers of turning down without study a last-minute management offer to give workers a share in company profits and a voice in company management. Chrysler shop stewards reacted by voting to go ahead with the strike which will force the company to lay off an additional 6,000 workers. The engine workers want at least £8 (\$19) a week more immediately, going up to £16 (\$36) a week by July 1.

Chrysler's management says it will have to borrow from the government to keep operating.



Tony Benn



George Square, Glasgow
Gordon N. Conners, chief photographer

Scotland gets a new worker-owned newspaper

By John Connell
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Glasgow

Some 500 Scottish printers and journalists who lost their jobs 14 months ago have launched a new daily newspaper as a cooperative venture.

Their Scottish Daily News has been given a government loan of £1,200,000 (\$2,880,000). The workers have contributed several hundreds of thousands of pounds of their severance pay. A number of trade unions and Scottish local authorities also have invested in the newspaper.

The printers and journalists involved in the cooperative were among 1,900 workers laid off when the Glasgow plant of the Scottish Daily Express, a Beaverbrook newspaper closed down last year.

A 12-man workers' action committee fought for over a year to persuade Tony Wedgwood Benn, Minister of Trade and Industry, to give a loan to the new enterprise.

A feasibility study by a government economic specialist unit last year maintained that the workers-controlled newspaper would not be viable. Glasgow's University of Strathclyde also declared that the paper would not make a profit, but independent examiners argued that the project was sound.

Wealthy London publisher Robert Maxwell, a former Labour member of Parliament, has invested over £100,000 (\$240,000) in the new venture. Donations and support for the Scottish Daily News have come from printing unions, groups of journalists, and many individuals throughout the United Kingdom.

Beaverbrook Newspapers — the company also ceased publication of the Evening Citizen

and Scottish Sunday Express just over ago — has agreed to take reduced pension for the workers' purchase of printing plant and machinery.

The workers' action committee had engaged nonstop for 12 months in reorganizing production at the printing plant, deputations to government ministers, generally tackling the great complex involved in starting a new large-scale paper.

All employees of the Scottish Daily must buy at least £100 worth of shares. Former Beaverbrook employees have bought much more than the minimum, and the strong determination among the workers to achieve efficient and smooth production paper.

The Scottish Daily News will be left of center and will be run by representatives of the printers and journalists. Investment committee, including Mr. Benn, will have a major say in the paper's operation.

There is some skepticism, mainly political right but also shared by some union leaders, that a workers' newspaper will not last for any length of time. Critics maintain that there is no real demand for such a newspaper, and argue that there are too many in Scotland.

But the workers' action committee maintains that its year-long struggle for the Scottish Daily News has proved that force has the capacity and ingenuity to overcome many difficult problems. The committee also asserts that a social need for a co-operative newspaper, free from the big press empire with an editorial sense of raising the voice of journalism.

Irish Catholic bishops condemn IRA violence

By Jonathan Harsch
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin

The illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA) campaign to unite Ireland by force is utterly immoral.

So Irish Roman Catholics north and south of this island's disputed border were told Sunday in a stinging pastoral letter from the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The sermon for masses throughout Ireland condemned simultaneously IRA violence, Protestant loyalist counter violence, and violence employed by the state in the name of law and order. But the bishops' letter concentrated its attack on IRA violence — "the type

of violence which finds its support within our own flocks."

The bishops charged that Ireland's six years of politically motivated violence constituted a "most systematic and sustained attack on the sacredness of human life and on the absolute-ness of the moral law to be found in the past half-century of our history."

One of the tragedies of recourse to violence had been that it unleashed a spiral of action and reaction, violence and counterviolence in which hate, vengeance, destruction, and death became almost a way of life, the pastoral letter said. No cause could ever justify murder, robbery, torture, cruelty, or religious discrimination, it added.

This outright rejection by the Roman Catholic church of the boasted IRA tactics

coincided with another terrorist attack in Northern Ireland — and with church-gate collections for the IRA "provisional" IRA acknowledged in Londonderry unit shot and killed a police officer May 10. It said the killing was in retaliation for two police house searches in which one was arrested and allegedly tortured.

The bishops' pastoral letter also attacked adultery, abortion, and euthanasia, and with a broad attack on economic life based on pursuit of profit.

This last message was for those disturbed by the widely rebroadcast American protest that Britain is about to collapse under trade union pressures. The Irish bishops called for fundamental changes to end both dictation from the top and blackmail from the workers.

Sea law conference: a net gain

Now members are ready for serious talk

By Tony Loftas
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Geneva

Although there has been a tendency to discredit any claims of progress, the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea has taken some significant steps at its just concluded Geneva session.

Proposals that once seemed little more than wild ideas are becoming generally accepted. For example, a consensus seems to exist on the concept of a 200-mile "exclusive economic zone" (EEZ), a 12-mile territorial sea, and an international seabed authority that, through some form of joint venture, will take an active part in the development of resources in the international seabed area.

The problem is to ink in the detail of the broad general picture that now has emerged. This demands active negotiation and compromises between nations some of which find themselves wielding political power for the first time in such an assembly.

The more than 140 delegations took home with them what could well be their passport to the next meeting, now agreed for New York between March 29 and May 21 next year. This consists of three unified negotiating texts

prepared by the chairmen of the substantive committees of the conference.

In closing the final plenary session here May 9, the conference's president, H. Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, made a special plea for patience on the part of those countries that might be contemplating unilateral action over marine resources.

This plea, prompted by the Group of 77 (a group of developing countries first formed at a UN trade conference), was followed by a message from land-locked and other geographically disadvantaged countries asking that no nation or group of nations should seek to extend their territorial limits beyond 12 miles.

Until the end, the meeting maintained the order shown throughout the eight weeks of discussions. Some observers had feared that the negotiating texts, prepared solely at the discretion of the committee chairmen, might become a disruptive issue. But the delegations, including some known to be unhappy about the proposal, allowed Mr. Amerasinghe to swing his chairman's gavel with the alacrity of a livestock auctioneer.

The texts are intended as a "procedural device" to assist future negotiations. They represent yet another break with tradition in what is becoming not only the biggest single

attempt at writing international law, but also a revolutionary way of achieving it.

According to Bernardo Zuleta, the special representative of the UN Secretary-General, "previous conferences attempted to codify an existing international consensus, but this one is creating new law for the first time."

Mr. Amerasinghe admits to "a little disappointment" in the sense that he had expected much more negotiation. On the other hand, he can take solace that no states have tried to force votes. Even apparently intractable states recognize that a viable law of the sea will not emerge from paper victories.

The delegations now have nearly a year in which to try to attempt to resolve opposing views. They and the various regional and interest groups have been exhorted to hold interregional meetings, not discussions among themselves, but with those holding opposing views.

Those meetings, more than anything else, can help to make the New York session one in which positive negotiations will be possible. Even so, the conference has already recognized that a second session will be needed next year, if a treaty is to stand any prospect of being ready for formal signing before 1978.

Tony Loftas is marine consultant for the British scientific magazine, the New Scientist.

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Remembering the victory

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
For one Leningrad veteran it means the memory of a daily 260-gram bread ration. For one 46-year-old it means the revival of some good rousing wartime songs.

For one Moscow student it means a barren week with nothing but war movies in town.

However they take it, the 30th anniversary of the end of World War II on May 8 and 9 is the biggest Soviet event so far this year.

Paeans to the "decisive" role of the Soviet Union in defeating Nazi Germany — and the "decisive" role of the Communist Party in organizing this — have filled the press for months. And for the past week hardly any other news has managed to wedge its way into print.

Remarkably, even North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong was interviewed by Soviet reporters, not on last month's Communist victory in South Vietnam after 30 years of war, but on the victory of the European and American allies 30 years ago.

To mark the anniversary, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (legislature) announced May 7 the country's first general amnesty in eight years.

The declaration remits prisoners sentenced up to five years and halves the sentence of longer terms. This is more generous than the 1967 amnesty for the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union; that set the dividing line at two-year sentences.

Exile sentences to remote parts of the Soviet Union apparently also will be canceled under the current amnesty.

In addition, World War II veterans, invalids, and medal winners will be released from prison even if their terms are for longer than five years.

But the amnesty apparently does not apply to dissidents jailed for acts that would be defined as political offenses in Western terms. Excluded from the amnesty are "state crimes," which in Soviet law include "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

The extraordinary Soviet stress on the 30th anniversary of V-E Day is seen by Western observers as serving several purposes. It glorifies the generation of top Soviet leaders. It appeals to emotions from a rare time of wholehearted, public support of the government and applies these to the present. It tacitly justifies the enormous sacrifices of the Soviet people in losing some 20 million lives in the war and some 20 million in Stalin's purges and collectivization.

It also justifies obedience to Communist Party ideology to a usually passive public — and even justifies obedience of the young generation to its elders.

Specifically, the 30th anniversary campaign glorifies Communist Party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev. The north Caucasus front — where Mr. Brezhnev was an army political commissar as a lieutenant colonel and then major general — is being hailed as a major battle ground which was neglected in the past. Huge billboards of Mr. Brezhnev at the hero city of Novorossiysk now adorn downtown Moscow squares.

In his first major speech in two months, Mr. Brezhnev on Thursday praised detente, hailed the Communist victory in Vietnam, and said he hoped it now would help Soviet-American detente.

More broadly, the campaign hails Mr. Brezhnev's generation of late-40 and 70-year-olds at what is presumably their last fifth-year anniversary at the helm.

The 30th anniversary celebrations also assert the heroism of the Soviet people above all other people.

Moscow's wartime allies are credited with more help this time than they have been in the past.

The first Soviet memorial ever to British, American, and other allied troops who ran supplies to the Russians now has gone up in Murmansk.

However, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party are exalted as the chief winners of victory over fascism.



Soviet sailors steam into Boston aboard a destroyer as American counterparts are feted in Leningrad

By Pete Main, staff writer

Red carpet treatment for U.S. tars

This month, and for the first time since World War II, U.S. warships visited the Soviet Union. And in the United States warships of the Soviet fleet tied up at Boston. The fraternal exchange marked V-E Day.

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Leningrad
It was all pomp and circumstance as American warships visited the Soviet Union for the first time since World War II. And it was the first time the U.S. Navy had come to Leningrad (or St. Petersburg, as it was called before the Revolution) since 1892.

At 8:10 a.m. the guided missile frigate Leahy and the guided missile destroyer Tattnell exchanged a 21-gun salute with the historic naval base of Kronstadt Island, and each side's band played the other's national anthem.

Then at 10:40 a tug pulled the U.S.S. Leahy into Leningrad's passenger port and the Leahy band and a Soviet Navy band exchanged marches. Soviet sailors fastened the Leahy lines to the pier, and the Stars and Stripes was hoisted at the stern of the ship.

The rather striking symbol of detente of reciprocal naval visits was some three years in the making. It started with the warming up of Soviet-American relations — and with discussions between the two navies about avoiding the brushes of sea that were occurring as ships shadowed each other.

This year the Soviets suggested — and the Americans accepted — connecting the naval visits with the massive Soviet celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe.

As events developed, Washington might have preferred not to appear so chummy with Moscow so soon after the fall of South Vietnam. But American officials still see the naval visit as useful. Among other things it reminds the Soviet republic that the U.S. did play a major role in World War II — despite Soviet polemics attributing the Nazi defeat almost singlehandedly to the Soviet forces.

In Leningrad, the American sailors will find a city that was built as a port by the Czar who gave Russia a navy, Peter the Great. The heart of Leningrad still centers on the Neva

River where the American ships are docked. And the American giddy collars will not look out of place among all the Soviet middy collars in Leningrad's Summer Park.

In the remaining four days of the American visit to Leningrad, Leahy and Tattnell sailors will get daytime liberty in the city, play volleyball and basketball with their Soviet counterparts, and be invited on a round of tours.

Groups of Russians, organized by the Soviet side, will also visit the American vessels.

Less formally, if arrangements can be worked out, some combos from the American

ships may play for dances in clubs or on the Leningrad.

The Americans will find a port that is more somber than the Mediterranean, where they are deployed.

There are no waterfront bars here — no any waterfront cafes or restaurants. In though most of the city's extensive May and 30th anniversary propaganda banners have been pulled down, the first sign of the Americans outside their mooring reads "Glory to the Leninist Party!"

overlooking the Admiralty in the square is a four-story figure of Lenin.

Power struggle for party leadership

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

There may be a clue to maneuvering for the succession to Leonid Brezhnev as Soviet party leader in nominations now under way for legislative elections in the 15 Soviet republics.

This week Mr. Brezhnev was nominated to the Russian republic's legislature by workers in Moscow, Leningrad, and Gorky. He also has been nominated to the legislatures of all the other republics — with his nominations totaling twice those of any of his colleagues.

In another week or so Mr. Brezhnev will choose one of the districts to represent in the June elections. But will send his grateful regards to all the other districts. It is all part of the quadrennial republic legislative (Supreme Soviet) elections.

There is widespread speculation that Mr. Brezhnev may retire from active leadership for health reasons within the next year or so. The legislative nominations are therefore being watched as a sign of relative strengths of possible successors.

Since legislative as well as other government power rests exclusively with the Communist Party here, legislative posts are essentially honorary. But the number of initial legislative nominations is one of the clearest indications of the pecking order within the party hierarchy.

In this pecking order, Mr. Brezhnev is clearly still at the top. President Nikolai Podgorny and Premier Alexei Kosygin rank as rather distant seconds. Messrs. Podgorny

and Kosygin are the only members of the man party Politburo outside of Mr. Brezhnev to enjoy nominations to the legislature more than one republic. All others received multiple nominations only if Supreme Soviet of the Russian Socialist Republic or one of the republics.

One notable non-nominee is trade chief Alexander Shelepin. His removal from the Politburo last month is read as a blocking action in succession skirmishing, an erstwhile rival of Mr. Brezhnev.

Shelepin's star had been on the wane since Mr. Brezhnev consolidated his power a few years ago. Observers believe that his ouster now is welcomed fully as a move by contestants for the new succession as by Brezhnev himself.

Other signs of political maneuvering are appearing in the spate of provincial leadership changes in the past two months. The last No. 2 party leaders in Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan have all been replaced.

Significantly, these moves follow a period, as have three members of the bureau of the Kazakh party. In addition, the Ukrainian regional first secretary (and about 110 nationwide) has been changed.

Significantly, these moves follow a period, as have three members of the bureau of the Kazakh party. In addition, the Ukrainian regional first secretary (and about 110 nationwide) has been changed.

'Smart' bombs to stop tanks

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London

New military technologies are reaching a stage of development where they could "deeply affect" politics and superpower arms control arrangements.

"Smart bomb" technology has increased the vulnerability of fixed targets and is blurring the distinction between conventional arms and nuclear weapons.

These are among the major assessments of "Strategic Survey 1974," the annual review of the prestigious International Institute for Strategic Studies, just published here.

The institute, housed in a small but distinguished historic building just off the Strand, is one of the world's leading "think tanks" in the defense field. Clattering up and down its wooden stairs one can meet not only the Soviet military attaché, but also the Chinese in his sober dark blue Mao uniform — as well as other defense experts and scholars from around the world. International membership, the institute's current director is a brilliant young West German lawyer, Christoph Bertram.

This year's strategic survey characterizes 1974 as "an interim period, a holding operation while the contours of the new international system become visible." By inference, 1975 is already turning out to be a much more active year, one in which the consequences of past actions are going to have to be dealt with, and efforts made to shape the contours of the new international system.

Despite the trauma of Watergate, detente held between the superpowers during 1974. But Washington and Moscow face important decisions in 1975, one of the knottiest being how to work out the details of SALT II, the second phase of strategic arms limitation talks.

In the Middle East, the "danger of a new war in the area remains real," the institute says. "The industrialized nations managed on the whole to cope with the oil crisis, but the strategic survey devotes a couple of pages to examining proposals for armed seizure of Arab oil installations."

Its conclusions: Any such action would probably embolden the Soviet Union and could not in the short term improve the West's oil supply situation. It would also create severe

tensions between the United States, still relatively well-off in terms of supply, and its partners in Western Europe and Japan, who are far more dependent on Middle East oil.

At Vladivostok in December last year, President Ford reached agreement with Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev that under SALT II, each side would have no more than 2,400 offensive delivery vehicles, of which no more than 1,320 would be equipped with MIRV's — multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles. All the details, however, must be worked out in an agreement yet to be signed, which will run from Oct. 1, 1977, until Dec. 31, 1985.

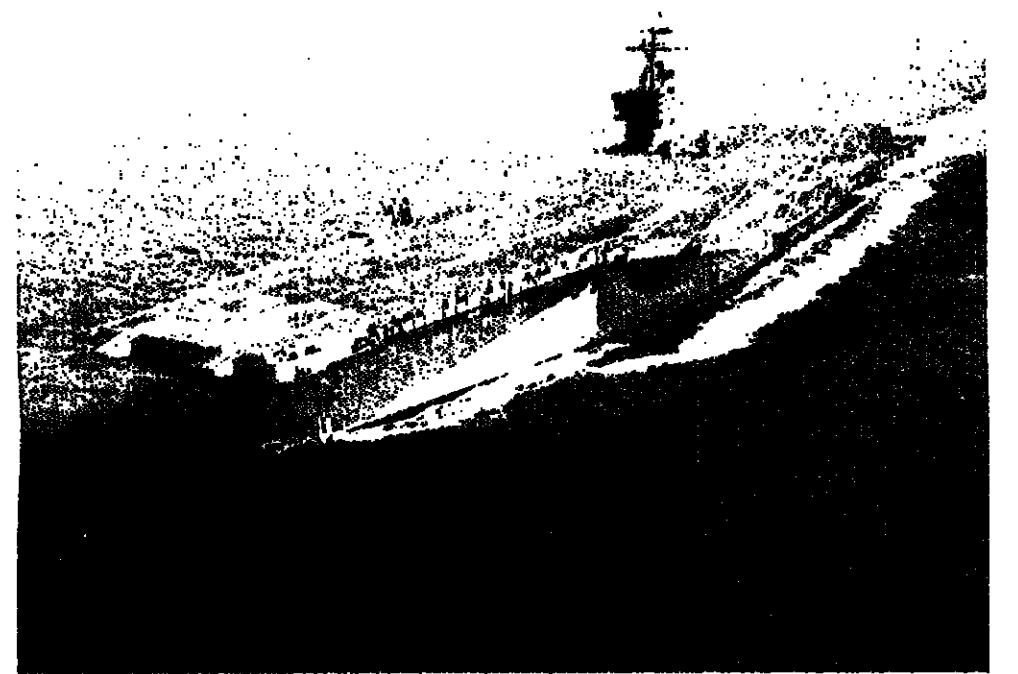
Progress in military technology has been such that land-based fixed-site missiles are more and more vulnerable. The Soviet Union has greater throw-weight (the total weight which a missile can deliver over a stated range and in a stated trajectory) than the United States, but 85 percent is concentrated in land-based missiles. The United States is far ahead of the Soviet Union in electronic guidance systems.

Progress in conventional arms technology has also been rapid. The so-called "smart bomb" — precision guided munitions of PGM in military shop talk — has made such advances that in many cases it can replace nuclear warheads. On the one hand this increases the defensive capacity of NATO in Central Europe, where the problem has always been how to stop Soviet tanks.

On the other hand, PGM's blur the distinction between nuclear and conventional warfare. This poses new problems for the Atlantic alliance.

In the first place they are not cheap. A TOW anti-tank missile costs \$3,000, but the unit used to guide the missile to its target costs \$20,000. In the second place, there are operating problems; in most cases, clear daylight is required, and for some systems, smoke or camouflage is sufficient to defeat "smart" technology.

Institute officials say that too little attention has been paid to India's explosion of an atomic device last spring. Mr. Bertram, in a press conference releasing the survey, noted that the U.S. State Department took six weeks to react and ascribed this gap to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's preoccupation with the Middle East.



U.S.S. Nimitz under way during sea trials

U.S. Navy

Mighty Nimitz joins U.S. Navy

Nuclear-powered aircraft carrier adds extra 'cutting edge' to American foreign policy

By Stephen Webbe
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

As if to underscore its determination to maintain a global military role in the wake of the debacle in Indo-China, the United States has added the largest and most powerful warship in the world to its naval arsenal.

In a ceremony earlier this month at Norfolk Naval Station, Norfolk, Virginia, the 94,000-ton nuclear-powered aircraft carrier U.S.S. Nimitz was commissioned into the Atlantic fleet.

President Ford who spoke at the ceremony declared that the carrier was entering service "at an auspicious moment, when our determination to strengthen our ties with allies across both great oceans and to work for peace and stability around the world requires clear demonstration."

Standing before the carrier, which is named

after World War II Pacific Commander-in-Chief, Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, the President told a crowd of 10,000 that "to all, this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain those commitments."

Built at Newport News, Virginia, the carrier's keel was laid on June 22, 1968 and she was launched on May 13, 1972.

The warship, which has an overall length of 1,092 feet and extreme breadth of 262 feet is said by the U.S. Navy to travel "in excess of 30 knots," a figure considered conservative by many naval experts.

Powered by two nuclear reactors that drive four massive propellers, the Nimitz is capable of operating for 13 years or steaming up to one million miles across the world's oceans before refueling.

The warship, which boasts a flight deck of four and a half acres, can accommodate an air wing of some 100 tactical aircraft and is equipped with four aircraft lifts and four catapults. Together with her aircraft she cost approximately \$1 billion.

U.S.S. Nimitz, the first of a new class of three carriers, is also the first nuclear-powered flattop to be built by the United States since the U.S.S. Enterprise was launched in 1960.

In wartime the Nimitz would be protected by a defensive screen of surface ships, submarines, and aircraft.

But there is considerable debate within naval circles as to whether such a screen could withstand an onslaught of Soviet submarines, long-range aircraft, and warships firing both conventional and nuclear missiles from positions well outside the carrier's anti-submarine and air defense zone.

Many naval experts feel that Soviet commanders would throw in so many ships and aircraft that the destruction or disablement of American carriers would be inevitable. Others contend, however, that a combination of attack submarines, nuclear-powered guided missile frigates, and carrier-based F-14 aircraft with their sophisticated detection and long-range weapons systems would be equal to the task of protecting their precious charges.

"Carriers are the backbone of our sea control and force projection capabilities, as well as our overseas presence," observed Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt in 1973, when chief of U.S. naval operations. "They are the most impressive maritime representatives of American interests overseas." But critics of the carriers claim that the United States is placing an inordinate number of eggs in a fragile and expensive basket.

"After testing flight deck and electronic gear the U.S.S. Nimitz is expected to steam for America's Guantanamo Bay naval base in Cuba."

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East-West religious ties

By Richard M. Harley
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Keston, England
Contact between religious thinkers in Western Europe and their counterparts in Eastern Europe is not just a one-way street, says the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux of Keston College.

It is becoming a fertile source of insight for the free world.

Mr. Bourdeaux's organization is officially known as the Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism.

Mr. Bourdeaux has visited Christian circles in the Soviet Union, Poland, and other East European countries, whose members have been subjected to harassment and persecution by the authorities. He found that these Christians have "rediscovered in this" experience something of the spiritual richness and concentration of the early church.

The case of the Russian reform Baptist leader, Giorgi Vins, recently sentenced to a 10-year jail term, spotlights vividly the issue of separation of church and state.

Mr. Vins has spoken out against the tendency for Russian religious leaders to allow themselves to be organized within official governmental guidelines.

Mr. Vins, says Mr. Bourdeaux, has demonstrated that the state and the church are two different things, two separate estates. Conflict and confrontation between the two are not necessarily inevitable, but there must be a clear line of demarcation in terms of authority.

Keston College faces a pressing need. While many churches and institutions draw upon its resources (and pay for this service) they have not generally provided financial support to keep the college going. A recent donation from the Dutch Reform Church has saved, for the moment, the quarterly magazine of the college.

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Catholics brace themselves

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

What is to become of South Vietnam's many of whom had so long been opposed to the Communists?

Catholics were among those most fearful of a Communist take-over, and the Catholic faithful remained until the fall of Saigon far from united. But the church leadership itself did not face the future unprepared. For many months, church leaders had been readying themselves for an accommodation with the inevitable.

And some years before that, the Vatican had been attempting, apparently with some success, to persuade Hanoi that the church no longer intended to side with any Saigon government.

In 1971 the Archbishop of Saigon tried to disassociate the church from a presidential election that was widely considered to be rigged by President Nguyen Van Thieu. That was the election in which Mr. Thieu, himself a Catholic by conversion, had maneuvered against his rivals to the point where he ended up being the sole candidate.

The political views of individual Catholics ranged at the time of the Communist take-over all the way from extreme left to extreme right. At a village east of Saigon, one priest was attempting to arm his parishioners, all of them northern Catholic refugees, for a last-ditch battle. But in Saigon itself, this reporter met a worker-priest who was almost euphoric over what he considered to be the impending "liberation" of the capital.

It would obviously be too much to say that the church leaders themselves welcomed Communist domination. But they seemed convinced that while the church might not thrive under communism, it surely would survive, just as it has in North Vietnam. They also appeared certain that the Communists would be more sophisticated and conciliatory in dealing with the church today than they had been 20 years ago after the signing of the Geneva Accords.

In recent weeks the church ordered all of the Catholic bishops stationed outside Saigon to stay in place even as Communist-led troops took control of one province after another. The Archbishop of Saigon, Nguyen Van Binh, advised Catholics not to try to flee the country and not to arm themselves.

The Archbishop also issued a declaration in which he indicated that he sympathized with those who wanted President Thieu to resign in the interest of seeking peace.

A week before the fall of Saigon, a high-ranking Catholic clergyman and close associate of the Archbishop told this reporter: "The church is not going to assume a negative, sulky attitude. A new mentality must be acquired."

"In the past, too much emphasis was placed on anti-communism, and the Catholics enjoyed too many privileges," said the French-speaking priest. "We must now place ourselves squarely on the side of the poor and the underprivileged."

"The objective which communism serves is man," he said. "There are differences in the ways in which you can go about this, but we also desire to serve man."

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Indo-China

Cambodia: rice-roots Communism

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong
How to account for the contrast between Saigon and Phnom Penh?

In Saigon the victorious Communists allow life, temporarily at least, to continue much as it did before the take-over. But in Phnom Penh the victors swiftly emptied the capital, ordering its inhabitants to undertake a forced march into the countryside. Saigon is nearly as lively as it ever was. Phnom Penh is silent.

In Vietnam foreign newsmen are allowed to work and travel, even if communication with the outside world is only intermittent. In Phnom Penh they had to seek refuge in an embassy compound. Although eventually allowed to leave Cambodia, they, like other foreigners, were regarded with the greatest suspicion. The new leaders in Phnom Penh seem much less sure of themselves than their counterparts in Saigon.

In Saigon, newsmen report that so far there have been no reprisals against the defeated enemy. In Phnom Penh there is no evidence of the wide-reaching "bloodbath" that American officials had predicted. But there are unconfirmed reports of executions of senior military and civilian officials.

The revolutionaries had for years vowed to kill seven leaders of the old Phnom Penh government whom they described as "traitors." Two of those leaders, Prime Minister Long Boret and former Acting Premier Sirik Matak, failed to leave Phnom Penh before it fell, and no one would be surprised to learn that the new rulers had kept their word as far as these two men are concerned.

Newsmen who covered the Cambodian war quickly learned that the gentle and easygoing Khmers could become brutal under stress. This was evident from the start. In 1970, when Phnom Penh government troops slaughtered hundreds of unarmed Vietnamese civilians. Throughout the war, neither side took many prisoners.

But the contrast between the take-over in Saigon and that in Phnom Penh nevertheless is striking. It is too early to make sweeping generalizations, but the differences can perhaps best be explained by the divergent histories, social organizations, and revolutionary movements of the two countries.

The Khmer insurgents, relative latecomers among the revolutionaries of Indo-China, had much less fertile ground to work than the Vietnamese Communists. Before the outbreak of the war in Cambodia, most peasants had few grievances. They were among the best-fed peasants in Southeast Asia, and an estimated 90 percent of them owned the land they tilled.

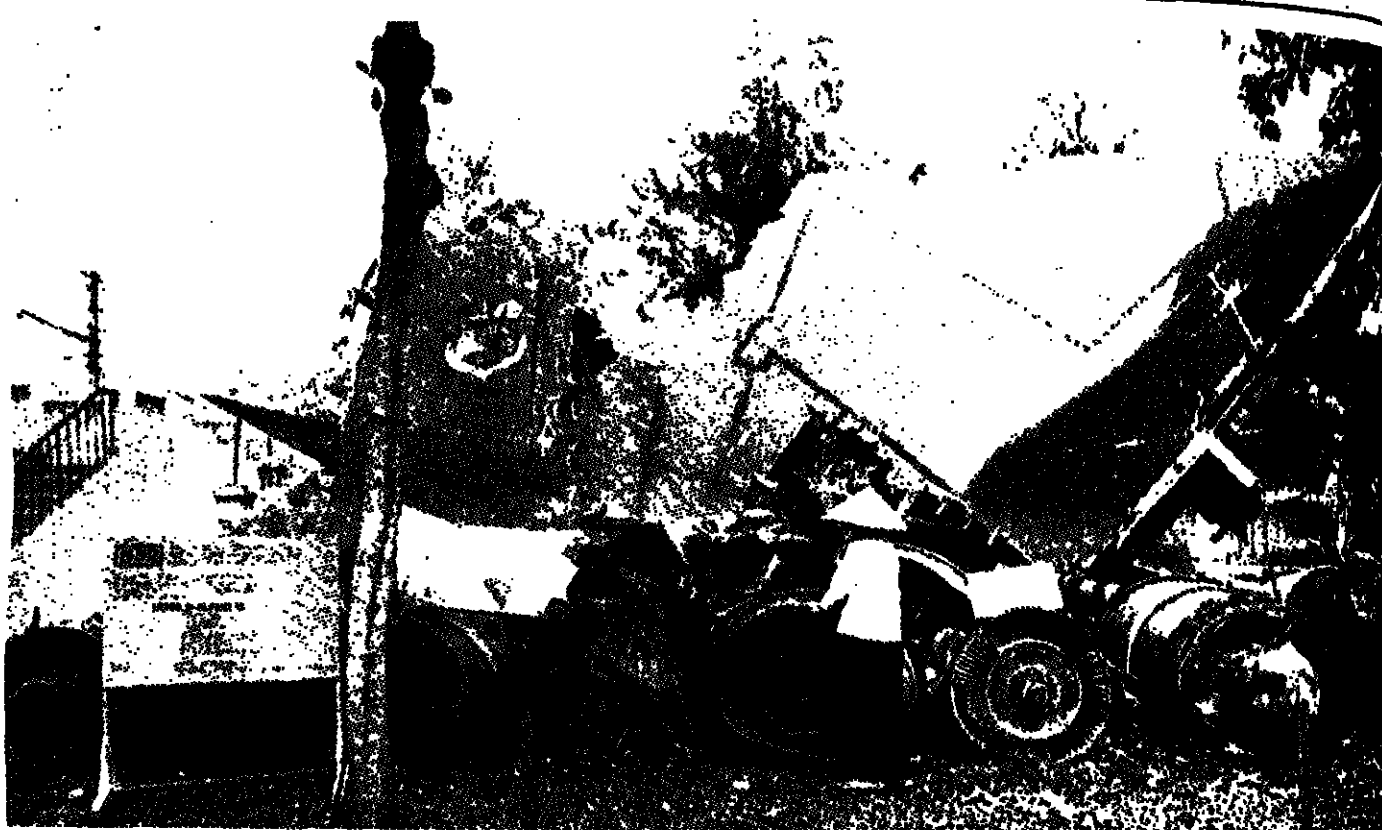
In a more crowded Vietnam, absentee landlordism and farm tenancy provided grievances that contributed greatly to the growth of both the Viet Minh movement against the French and the communist-led National Liberation Front against the U.S.-backed Diem regime.

In Cambodia, Buddhism worked as a strong force in the value system of the people and provided more of a barrier against the introduction of a new ideology than it did in Vietnam.

Rapidly, the Khmer revolutionaries decided that they had no choice but to act harshly to impose a new system. The Khmer revolutionaries did not have the time patiently to analyze grievances and then build a political and administrative structure from the village level upward. The war came to Cambodia suddenly and brutally, and the insurgents focused their main efforts on the fighting.

One reason why they decided to empty Phnom Penh of its inhabitants, among others, may have been that they did not have the administrators to run a city of that size. They also did not have the rice to feed the city's many refugees.

Most of Phnom Penh's inhabitants were originally farmers, and they now are being sent back to the countryside. The rainy season is beginning in Cambodia. A new rice crop must be planted.



A part of history now: B-52 wreckage complete with Strategic Air Command insignia in Hanoi war museum

South Vietnam: corrupt and faction-riven

Daniel Southerland was in Saigon during the final weeks of the Thieu regime and was evacuated on April 28 with the last of the Americans. In this dispatch he analyzes why Saigon fell.

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

As the North Vietnamese tanks neared Saigon, journalists like myself who had spent many years in Vietnam were besieged by Vietnamese seeking guidance, advice, or a way to get out.

It would be wrong to give the impression that everyone in Saigon was seeking help or a way out of the country. I knew some Vietnamese who looked forward to the assumption of power by the Communists with equanimity, and some who welcomed it. I knew others who said they had nothing to fear because they were poor. And I knew still others who did not welcome the inevitable outcome but who were determined to stay and make the best of it.

It was among the most anti-Communist Vietnamese that one found those who were looking most to Americans for all the answers.

Despite all the talk about "Vietnamization," it was this overwhelming dependence on Americans, caused by long years of direct intervention, which set the stage for Saigon's collapse.

In looking back over what went wrong for Saigon in those final weeks of almost constant

retreat, one could point to a number of other factors that contributed to the final collapse:

- There was the corruption in the senior officer corps, which undermined the faith and respect of the relatively ill-paid soldiers and noncommissioned officers.

The Vietnamese Army was not only an army but also a business concern in which promotions as well as medical evacuation helicopter rides could be bought and sold.

• There was the lack of an ideology or an ideal such as the "righteous cause" that the Communists believed in. Anti-Communism was obviously insufficient to hold Saigon's forces together in the ultimate test.

• The lack of self-confidence and solidarity produced conditions where panic could easily gain control. And the final outcome was likely to have been the same, no matter how many weapons and bullets the United States poured into South Vietnam.

But for men like President Nguyen Van Thieu, American support was everything. Once it no longer poured forth in the lavish quantities he had grown accustomed to, he became a more vulnerable target for his non-Communist, as well as Communist, opponents.

Mr. Thieu was shocked by the speed with which Communist-led troops captured the Central Highlands town of Ban Me Thuot in mid-March.

With his troops spread thin and his resources more limited than they once were, Mr. Thieu made a decision to withdraw his forces from key sections of the highlands. The

decision was followed by a hasty, executed retreat, a rush to the coast, and it was every man for himself.

Mr. Thieu had pressed the panic button once he started withdrawing troops from northernmost parts of the country as there was no stopping the spreading panic.

Hundreds of thousands of "people" fleeing from a non-existent North Vietnam offensive. As officers and men gave up to their families, one province after another was yielded without significant battle.

If it had not been apparent before, it became clear to just about everyone in "South Vietnam" which we journalists had been writing about was not really a nation, a collection of disparate and feuding factions, and families.

Even the Army generals themselves were hopelessly divided.

The North Vietnamese began swiftly to advantage of the situation.

For many Vietnamese, rumors were only thing left to believe in. Senior officers in the northern region started to give up to rumors that Mr. Thieu had made a deal with the Communists to abandon the Highlands as well as the northernmost provinces.

In Saigon, senior staff officers began what the Americans were going to do. They remarked at the time that if the Saigon of Gen. Frederick C. Weyand, Army Chief of Staff, produced only one action, "we're lost."

How to fire a president without wrecking the Constitution

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

A United States president removed by a "no confidence vote."

The Law Review quarterly of George Washington University devotes its entire forthcoming issue to the constitutional amendment proposal of Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D) of Wisconsin to allow Congress to remove a president more easily than by impeachment.

Some legal authorities say "yes"; others "no." The stunning impact of Watergate and of Vietnam apparently has roused some constitutional soul-searching as at few previous times in history.

Parliamentary countries can remove an executive, why not the U.S. it is asked.

The Reuss proposal, in brief, says that if three-fifths of both houses of Congress (60 percent) vote "no confidence" a new election is automatically required, regardless of fixed terms.

And just to insure that Congress wouldn't act frivolously, it would have to stand for election, too.

The impeachment process worked — "Congress should leave things as they are," says Samuel H. Beer of Harvard.

"The wrong solution," declares John H. Reese, University of Denver.

"Good intentions but bad policy," concludes Allan P. Sandler, University of California.

Other authorities disagree. Watergate, followed by Vietnam, have apparently shaken some U.S. constitutional authorities.

"Under our system a Neville Chamberlain would stay in his office for his full term even if that meant losing a war and the very freedom of the nation," says Brookings Institution senior fellow, James L. Sundquist.

"Is there any other major power in the world," asks Arthur Selwyn Miller, George Washington University, "that both in theory and in fact makes one person the symbol of national continuity, such as the Queen of

England, and the operational executive branch head, such as the prime minister?"

What do we do with a president who loses his grip on reality, ask several writers; it takes two years to impeach a man whose "finger is on the trigger."

Representative Reuss contributes an introduction to the symposium.

Half-forgotten impeachment procedures would not have worked in 1974, he says, but for the tapes. Congress couldn't even agree on what constituted "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Writers waver between anxiety over present trends, and fear of alternatives. A majority deplore executive aggrandizement but others say Congress can not govern.

Says Hans A. Linde, professor of law at the University of Oregon, "Two years of investigation and trial . . . may be commendable deliberateness in the determination of personal guilt. It is no way to conduct a government."

But reformers would do better to correct the growing executive-legislative imbalance by strengthening "the relative weakness of Congress" than by tinkering with the executive, says Professor Sandler.

Congress can't govern, argues Fletcher N. Baldwin, University of Florida. It has brought its own weakness. He cites "inertia," "stagnation," local outlook, fragmentation, incohesiveness, and absence of party control.

"Lack of congressional assertion of leadership," says Professor Baldwin "has resulted in a strong executive."

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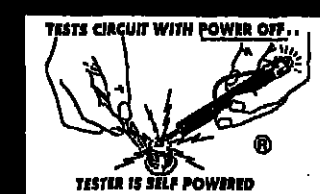
By the Associated Press

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Castro's Cuba — hearing new hemispheric sounds?

Cuba's neighbors will lift their anti-Castro embargo

By Dana Adams Schindt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Sometime this summer the 11-year-old diplomatic and trade quarantine of Cuba by the states of the American hemisphere will end.

This much has emerged from the meeting of the general assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) that is meeting here.

[Meanwhile, Monitor correspondent Godfrey Sperling Jr. reports from Washington that Sen. George McGovern, just returned from a visit with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro in Cuba, believes the U.S. can act on its own to lift the quarantine.]

"The administration keeps saying they can't lift their embargo with Cuba until the OAS lifts the sanctions it imposed in 1964," Senator McGovern said in an interview.

"Now the OAS specifically exempted food and medicine from their sanctions. So the U.S. does not have to wait on the OAS. . . . What is significant is that Castro, for the first time, is really saying that without the OAS lifting of sanctions, he is willing to reopen trade. This is a highly significant shift on his part."

[Did the administration know this? "I think they know it very well," he said.]

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who has met with the foreign ministers of Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Brazil as well as with the assembly itself, has said: "We are moving to some understanding on how to proceed."

The convoluted diplomatic procedure now being discussed is likely to culminate in June with another meeting, possibly in Costa Rica, at which the assembly, meeting as an organ of consultation, would give a two-thirds majority to the following:

1. Amending the constitution of the OAS so that the assembly could by a simple majority vote end the diplomatic exclusion of Cuba and

lift the ban on trade with Cuba. This decision would have to be ratified by each of the governments, and that could take a year or two.

2. Agreeing, for the sake of speed, that each of the 23 members of the OAS shall be free individually to decide whether it wishes to resume trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Thus action on Cuba could be relatively rapid, while the more elaborate time-consuming procedure of amending the constitution in order to make possible a simple majority vote is running its course.

The success of this stratagem will depend on the cooperation of the U.S. In voting with the two-thirds majority instead of abstaining as it did, in a show of noninterference, at Quito, Ecuador, last November.

On that occasion a number of Latin American countries, such as Haiti, Guatemala, and Bolivia, sought to avoid United States disfavor by following the U.S. lead in abstaining. As a result, to the general consternation of most participants including the U.S., the resolution to end the diplomatic and trade exclusion of Cuba failed by two votes. That is why action now is being taken to make possible this decision by simple majority instead of two-thirds vote.

The procedure outlined is expected to be set in motion by a recommendation by an OAS committee that will report to the General Assembly. The assembly is expected to make minor changes in the recommendation and ask the committee to make its revised report to the organ of consultation.

Even after the OAS has gone through all these motions, it may take a year or more before United States relations with Cuba can be brought back to normal. Acts of Congress as well as executive orders are involved. In particular the U.S. will demand compensation for nationalized U.S. properties.

Homemade fire truck pride of New Mexican firemen

By the Associated Press

Atoka, N. Mex. — Atoka Fire Chief Clarence Conner says he's "right proud" of the town's new fire truck. "There wasn't enough money to buy a new fire truck, so the 26 volunteer firemen in this southeast New Mexico town built their own."

The men acquired a truck cab and chassis, mounted a used milk tank on it and then rigged a pump engine. Mr. Conner said they worked one night a week on the truck for about ten months.

He said the new truck will provide water support for the station's 750-gallon pumper and low-pressure pumping for fighting grass fires.

United States

What might happen in the '76 campaign

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Close associate of President Ford, Melvin R. Laird, gives these details of President Ford's 1976 election campaign:

• He sees Sen. Edward M. Kennedy as the likely opponent of the President "if he can stay out of the primaries." He also thinks Mr. Kennedy would be the strongest adversary the President could face.

Mr. Laird thinks Senator Kennedy is sincere in his statement about not running. But he also believes Mr. Kennedy will be unable to resist the pressures that will be put on him next year from Democratic leaders who will want him to run.

• Ford aide Dean Burch is slated to become head of the President's pre-convention campaign "on a full-time basis." Mr. Burch was "available" and "a former party chairman."

Mr. Burch, very close to Arizona Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater, would tend to muffle the "only possible challenge" to Mr. Ford — from conservatives.

• Mr. Laird is convinced there will be no challenge to the President in the primaries. He thinks Ronald Reagan might try a con-

vention challenge — but that while it might be "interesting," it would not be successful.

• He believes the frustration and dissatisfaction among Republican conservatives with Mr. Ford will center on the vice-presidency. He foresees a heated battle over the No. 2 spot.

• Mr. Laird says the President will enter those primaries only where, under the law, he must be on the ticket. Should there be a challenge to Mr. Ford (which he does not envision) then, he says, the President will have to enter a large number of primaries, including New Hampshire.

• To the question, "Who will be the President's campaign manager after the convention?" Mr. Laird said, "It will be the Republican national chairman." He did leave the door open, however, for the possibility of the President selecting a new chairman at that time.

And then he amended his comment by saying that the President might select a "campaign director" to run his campaign — someone who would be under the national chairman.

Mr. Laird, former secretary of defense, is currently a member of an informal group putting the Ford campaign together. He spoke to a breakfast meeting of reporters here.

Paddle-wheel steamers to slip down the mighty Mississippi again

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
You won't be able to flag it down with a handkerchief, the way people used to stop steamboats 50 years ago. And there won't be many farmers aboard with their dogs, cats, and cows.

— But a nearly-vanished era may be starting up again.

For the first time in 50 years, a paddlewheel steamboat equipped for overnight passengers will soon swish and churn its way up the mighty Mississippi on a maiden voyage, doubling the number of boats of its kind in the U.S. — from one to two.

There are only five steam-powered paddlewheel passenger boats operating in the U.S. today, and only one, the Delta Queen, built in 1926, for overnight service. The Mississippi Queen, due to start operating next March, will be No. 2.

A week's trip on the Mississippi Queen will cost between \$365 and \$1,050 (up to \$2,430 for 18 days). The same 7-day trip cost only \$35 in the 1920s.

Its paddlewheel will be just like the old steamboats used to have. And its speed (12 m.p.h.) should be slow enough to satisfy passengers seeking a nostalgic taste of days when overnight passenger service flourished along the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.

In those days, you almost "couldn't get anywhere unless you went by boat," recalls Frederick Way Jr., of Sewickley, Pennsylvania, who started his river career as a "mud clerk" on the Ohio River in 1910. "I was at the top of the boat first in the mud," at each landing to help tie up the boat, he recalls.

"There was a boat that went out in the cornfields [in West Virginia] in 1910 and stayed there for about three or four months," Mr. Way recalled in an interview. "They ran excursions on the B&O railroad to see it."

When he got his riverboat pilot's license in 1930, many of the passengers were farmers leaving their fields to look for work in the cities. "They could take their dog, cats, and cows with them," said Mr. Way. "They [the farmers] were always a good deal, 'cause you got them back in 60 days," discouraged with city life.

In those days "all you had to do to stop a steamboat was wave a handkerchief," he said.

Today you need reservation about 60 days in advance for a ride on the Delta Queen, says Mr. Way.

Other things have changed too.

Pilots were paid about \$8 a day in Mr. Way's time. Today, river pilots earn up to \$30 a day, he says.

Then, too, navigation is a lot easier than in the days when trainees Mark Twain spent long nights in the pilot houses of Mississippi riverboats memorizing every twist, turn, and shifting sandbar.

Today, with channel lights all along the route, Mr. Way compares the river to a "four-laned boulevard."

Okay you chaps, fingers poised, man the typewriters!

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

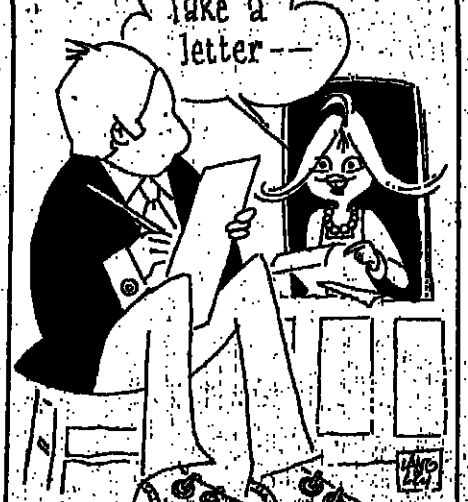
Chicago
When Jeanne Feighner calls her secretary to take dictation, Richard Hill walks into her office, sits down, opens his notebook, and starts using the shorthand skills that earned him a promotion last year from clerk-typist.

As one of the nation's male secretaries, a small, highly visible, and, some figures show, growing band of tradition-breakers, he gets some strange looks on the job. But most days the only awkward moments come when the other secretaries get together on breaks and talk about their husbands.

"I just listen," he says.

A century or so ago, he points out, before many women had entered the world of office work, many secretaries were males.

Take a letter



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Viet youth: now their education is in danger

Will young refugees be able to go to college?

By Lucia Mouat
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Behind immediate food, shelter, and job needs of the Southeast Asian refugees lie several less-pressing but still important problems, including money for college education. This is one which many on Capitol Hill now are beginning to consider.

They are finding that the whole question of Washington student aid for both newcomers and the 2,000 Vietnamese and Cambodians studying on U.S. campuses this year when their home lands fell to the communists is bound up in legalities.

Only those tapped as resident aliens, for instance, are eligible to compete with U.S. students for such regular government scholarship money as the Basic Opportunity Grants. As yet, it is uncertain as to when (if ever) many of the newcomers or the old students will gain this status.

Being in a distinct minority today does not bother him. He likes the work and it pays well.

"I'm making more money than two of my friends with master's degrees," he says.

In what a woman in an employment office in Detroit describes as a "kind of side effect of the women's liberation movement," more males are moving into traditionally female-dominated jobs such as telephone operators and airline flight attendants. Now there are these signs that male secretaries are becoming a more accepted if not a greater part of the work force:

• A male won the latest secretary of the year award at Kelly Girl Services in Chicago, which reports "many more" males signing up for temporary office work this year than last year. (Many of them lack secretarial skills, however, and do clerical work instead.)

• The number of males who describe themselves as secretaries has increased from about 41,000 in 1960 to 64,000 in 1970 (compared to 2.6 million female secretaries in 1970), says the U.S. Census Bureau.

But the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), using a stricter definition of who is a secretary — and not a clerk-typist, for example — says there were less than 1,000 male secretaries in the U.S. in 1973, a figure that has not changed much in the past 10 years. The bureau's survey covers only companies with 50 or more employees in metropolitan areas, but by far, most secretaries are in such a category.

There is a twist in all this that has some women's liberation activists frustrated: Male secretaries often earn more than female secretaries. Average weekly earnings for male secretaries in early 1972 (latest date for which such figures are

"We're just going to have to cut some tape to declare them residents," vows determined Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) aide familiar with the problem.

Currently the only relatively solid prospect for higher education and vocational help for refugees, regardless of their legal status, about \$10 million of the \$405 million humanitarian aid now being considered by Congress.

No one knows how many of the new refugees will want or be able to get a college education. A HEW sample of several thousand refugees still on Guam found some 15 percent in the 18-24 age bracket, but it is considered far too indicative as to how many will seek college.

Some on Capitol Hill, reluctant to open student-aid funds of any kind to refugees, or old, argue that total funds available, not qualifying U.S. students, have been grossly inadequate.

available) was \$179 compared to \$185 for females.

A greater proportion of the male secretaries work in higher paying secretarial jobs, often for transportation, communication, and other public utilities, says Kenneth Hoffmann, of the BLS in Washington. And since figures show higher wages for secretaries where both male and female secretaries are employed in the same line, women's wages may go up as more males become secretaries.

Robert Chambers, another male secretary with a female boss, has his own view, however, that some of the female secretaries around him feel threatened by his presence. It is as if, he says, they were asking: "Are you trying to unseat me?"

His only complaint on his job with the General Services Administration in Washington is one often heard from female secretaries — that he is overqualified. Mr. Chambers is retired from the Air Force. But being overqualified may not be so bad, says Ralph Dowling, an executive secretary to a male officer of the Air Force Pilots Association in Denver.

"You are expected to do better" than female secretaries because so few men are in the work that they are watched closely, says Mr. Dowling, who has been a secretary for 20 years. He compares the phenomenon to the critical attention a female pilot gets when she first starts.

Meanwhile, the number of male secretaries is likely to remain relatively small until traditional ideas of jobs change. "Until we de-sex jobs in the home, we can't de-sex them in the office," says Mr. Hill, who adds that having a male secretary makes no difference to her.

A few male secretaries in TV shows might help break down the traditional barriers, says Mr. Hill.

Rhodesia: The clouds gather

By Henry S. Hayward
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya
The net is drawing tighter around white-ruled Rhodesia.

The final communiqué of the Commonwealth summit conference in Jamaica last week — which "recognized the inevitability of intensified armed struggle should peaceful avenues be blocked by the racist and illegal [Rhodesian] regime" — and the impending independence of Mozambique have lent new impetus and confidence to those who want black majority rule for the breakaway British colony in southern Africa.

But some experts concede there are major holes still to be plugged before Prime Minister Ian Smith's regime in Salisbury can be brought to heel.

The status of Mozambique is a new factor in the black-white equation. When the Portuguese territory becomes independent on

June 25, presumably under Frelimo leader Machel Samora, black Africa hopes and expects it will join the embargo against Rhodesia.

Since an estimated 80 to 85 percent of Rhodesia's exports and imports travel by rail to or from the Mozambique ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques, the potential impact of a cutoff could be enormous.

It is conceded, however, that Mozambique will need substantial financial aid to compensate for the loss of revenue if it joins the economic blockade against Rhodesia. Zambia's Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga sets the figure at about \$85 million. Black African leaders are appealing to the United Nations for monetary help to ensure that Mozambique can enforce a strict embargo.

Difficult though this prospect is for Rhodesia it still has alternative routes to the sea. But they will be longer, more expensive, and perhaps politically problematic as well.

A newly-built railway line joins the South African rail network at Beitbridge. So Rhodesian goods can now reach the Republic without going through black-ruled Botswana.

Thus Rhodesian traffic still could — at least theoretically — use such South African ports as Durban. But Durban's facilities already are hard-pressed.

Besides that, Prime Minister John Vorster wants a settlement of the Rhodesian problem. So he is likely to exert even greater pressure on Mr. Smith than hitherto to negotiate seriously with the designated black Rhodesian

organization, the African National Council (ANC), headed by Protestant Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

With a fresh Commonwealth mandate behind him, Bishop Muzorewa may feel the time for delays and excuse-making on both sides is past.

No action is expected from Mozambique until after the independence date. But already observers have noted that Mozambique ports are operating far below their usual capacity. This is due as much to the Portuguese exodus and African labor unrest as to calculated political moves against Rhodesia at this stage.

But Machel Samora, as a seasoned guerrilla fighter himself, and one indebted to his African neighbors for their support during the liberation struggle, conceivably could allow Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) guerrillas to use his country as a base for operations against Rhodesian security forces.

Adding to the strong military and economic pressures apparently building up to force Rhodesia to grant immediate black majority rule, as the ANC demands, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia says a secret African revolutionary army is being trained to invade Rhodesia, if negotiations fail.

The Associated Press cables from Salisbury, Rhodesia: A government spokesman claimed Saturday the guerrillas are ignoring a cease-fire concluded last Dec. 11 by black liberation groups and the Rhodesian government.

"The terrorist campaign of murder, rape, arson, assault, and intimidation has become so

much a fact of life for the inhabitants of the operational area that talk of an end to hostilities is less than meaningless to them," the spokesman said.

In Kenya, meanwhile, the Nairobi Sunday Nation newspaper said the Organization of African Unity should investigate clashes among black Rhodesian guerrillas in Zambia. There are reports that at least 100 of them have been killed in fighting.

"When African nationalists kill each other, the only person who stands to gain is Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Political feuding will only mean the delay of African majority rule in Rhodesia," the paper said in an editorial.

The Rhodesian government spokesman said there have been 290 guerrilla incidents since the December cease-fire, including 41 murders of civilians, 9 attempted murders, 15 assaults, and 12 cases of intimidation and threatened murder.

He said 80 guerrillas, 6 white Rhodesians, and 5 white South Africans have been killed.

The spokesman said bands of guerrillas are raiding remote African villages, assembling the inhabitants and arbitrarily killing one or more accused of being informers. He listed eight such incidents.

Describing one, he said that on Dec. 30, three guerrillas arrived at a village 100 miles northwest of Salisbury and accused a man of being a "sell-out."

He was bayoneted to death the spokesman said.

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Sithole plans the next move

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston
One of Rhodesia's two key African nationalist leaders, the Rev. Nkomo Sithole, believes that guerrilla operations against his country's ruling white minority are still necessary to achieve black-majority rule there.

He does not think that the stepping up of sanctions against the white-minority government, agreed to at the Commonwealth conference just ended in Jamaica, will be enough to bring by negotiation a transfer of political power in Rhodesia from blacks to whites.

Mr. Sithole, held for 10 years in detention in Rhodesia until the turn of last year, and then briefly arrested again this year, has been outside the country since last month. Now in the United States for a short visit to four of his children in American colleges — a fifth is in college in Britain — Mr. Sithole says he intends to return to Africa — but not to Rhodesia. Rhodesia's white-minority Prime Minister Ian Smith, has said he will re-arrest Mr. Sithole if he comes back.

Mr. Sithole said to this writer rather cryptically: "I will not return to Rhodesia, but I hope to go back to Zimbabwe very soon." Zimbabwe is the African name for Rhodesia under which it will be known internationally once it is under a black government.

Although Mr. Sithole does not spell out in detail just what his immediate plans are, one gets the impression in conversation with him that he thinks in terms of remaining outside Rhodesia to be free to organize and control these moves — including stepped-up guerrilla warfare within the country — needed to bring about the replacement of Mr. Smith's white-minority government by black-majority rule.

Since the end of last year, moves have been

under way by the governments bordering on or close to Rhodesia to try to bring agreed constitutional changes in Rhodesia whereby political power there would be transferred to the black majority. (Blacks outnumber the quarter-of-a-million Rhodesian whites about 24 to 1.) Central to these moves is pressure on Mr. Smith from South Africa's white Prime Minister John Vorster and on Rhodesia's black nationalists from Zambia's President Kaunda.

Mr. Sithole says he much prefers nonviolence to violence but he believes that in Rhodesia the arithmetic is against a voluntary surrender of power by the white minority to the country's black majority. Such a small minority that has clung so tenaciously to power for so long (he says) is too fearful to negotiate away that power.

Mr. Sithole's followers have spearheaded the guerrilla operations against the Smith government in recent years. He says that one of the main differences of approach between himself and the other key nationalist leader, Joshua Nkomo, is that Mr. Nkomo is more sanguine than he about getting what black Rhodesians want through negotiation without the accompanying lever of guerrilla warfare. (Mr. Nkomo, of course, is a rival of Mr. Sithole for the leadership of an independent black-run Rhodesia.) But Mr. Sithole says the mood of black Rhodesians is such that Mr. Smith is mistaken if he thinks he can delay a transfer of political power by trying to set Mr. Nkomo and himself at each other's throats.

All black Rhodesians are agreed, Mr. Sithole says, that they want majority rule now. There may be differing interpretations of "now" against a common recognition that there may have to be a transition period. "Some say three months," he says, "some six, some 12, some 18 — but it can't be more than 18."

Djibouti independence urged

By Dennis Blakely
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
France is coming under increasing pressure to give independence to one of its last remaining colonies.

It is the Territory of the Afars and the Issas, commonly called Djibouti after its capital. It is strategically situated on the tip of the Horn of Africa.

To the west the territory adjoins Ethiopia which, despite the fact that its only rail link to the sea runs through Djibouti, has now come out in favor of full independence for its neighbor.

The main threat, however, comes from the southeast, from Somalia urgently demanding

independence for its "oppressed brothers." The demand is the more ardent because of the presence in Somalia of several thousand refugees from Djibouti. It was a Djibouti exile group — the Somali Coast Liberation Front — which in March kidnapped the French ambassador to Somalia and set him free only after two Djiboutians imprisoned in France for terrorist activities were released.

The Somalis accuse France of having turned Djibouti into a huge military base and of having constructed barbed-wire fences around the town.

It certainly is a military base but it is not huge. There are some 6,000 French military personnel, three or four frigates, and a handful of vintage American fighters.

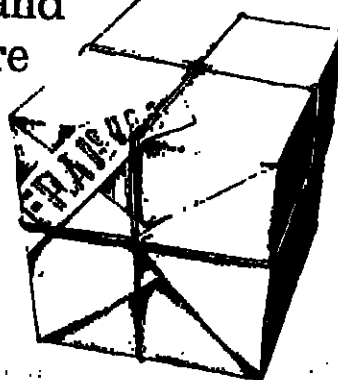
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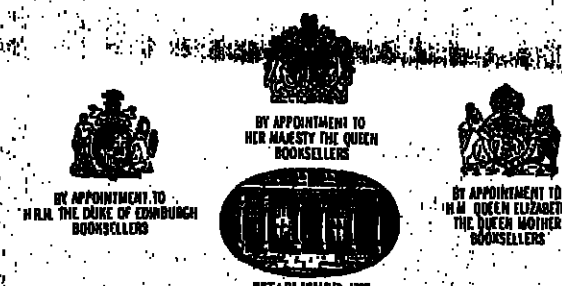
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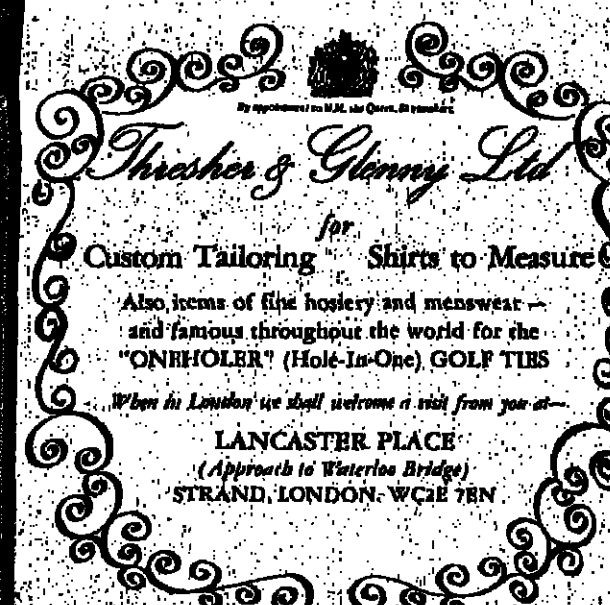
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WHALES: Do they have unfathomable language?

Some scientists are convinced that whales communicate and have mental abilities comparable to, but quite different from, man's.

By David F. Salsbury
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The haunting song of the whale — an intricate melody of deep booming sounds, clicks, and squeals — has fascinated marine scientists for the past quarter-century.

Is it just a form of sonar that helps them navigate and find food? Could it be a rudimentary means of underwater communication? Or do these graceful creatures talk to each other perhaps in an as-yet-unfathomable language?

Most scientists who study whales feel that the questions are far from being answered. Yet in the last few years, an outspoken minority have become convinced that whales have mental abilities comparable to, though quite different from, our own.

The publicity given to the views of these few scientists, the mysteries that surround these unique mammals, and the cruelty which characterizes modern whaling have combined to produce a growing number of whale lovers who believe in their intelligence and violently oppose their slaughter.

How sounds could be explained

This enthusiasm and recent concern over extinction of many species has intensified the study of these, the largest of animals. Less is known about whales than any other mammal. Still most scientists are critical of the popular movement to humanize the whale.

"Most of the sounds we have heard could be explained by analogy with other animals," says Dr. Peter Morgane of Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology, who has done much of this work. "The strongest evidence to date that large whales use sounds to communicate."

At a symposium recently at the Boston Museum of Science Dr. Watkins reported some of the strongest evidence to date that large whales use sounds to communicate.

With four underwater microphones, he has developed a method to plot the position of whales as they "talk."

On his latest voyage, the scientist was tracking sperm whales. These animals, a traditional whaling prey, have a distinctive voice, a series of high-pitched clicks. When slowed to half speed, these sound like a carpenter banging on a roof.

Dr. Watkins recorded two sperm whales. After a long silence among a fairly large group of whales, one started by sounding nine clicks. Shortly after, a second chimed in with seven quick raps. In quick succession there were another nine clicks, followed by seven.

Then the whales both signaled nine clicks simultaneously. Following this there was a more complicated 14-click exchange, and then back to the seven-nine pattern.

When he calculated the distances, the scientist found that at first the two whales were some distance apart. During their exchange, "seven" moved toward "nine," who stayed in one place. The two signaled simultaneously at about the time when they met. Afterward the whales went off together in a different direction.

Cautious about interpretation

Dr. Watkins is very cautious about interpreting this event. He says it "seems to indicate communication." In the past, many experts thought that the sperm whale sounds were used for "echo-location" — that by sending out chirps or clicks and listening to the echoes, they are able to detect objects around them.

Small groups of dolphins also exchange similar alternating signals, but so do chickens and many other animals, the scientist says.

The strongest evidence for whale and dolphin intelligence has come not from the sounds they make, but from study of their brains. According to Dr. Peter Morgane of Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology, who has done much of this work, the dolphin's brain seems to equal that of humans in size and complexity. It is organized quite differently, however.

In the human brain, the "gray-matter" is connected to regions thought to control gesturing and body actions. (This is why man developed tools.) The dolphin has as much or more "gray-matter," but it is most strongly linked to areas concerned with hearing and social behavior.

"The whale is man's closest neurological neighbor," Morgane concludes.

Those who would "humanize" the whale have indirect evidence with reports of human-like behavior.

• When a female dolphin, a variety of which was caught in a shallow inlet, her companion herring and chased them in so she could eat.

• A fin whale was harpooned and killed. Both earbones were found broken. Presumably the whale was deaf when caught. A whale needs its hearing to appear well-fed. The whale had a common sense have been helping it.

• Bottlenose whales were hunted to the north Atlantic by Norwegian whalers. Aided by the whale's habits: once a whale and companions will not desert it. As a result, a group they could kill several of these whales are now very rare the Norwegian when they can find them, says Dr. Morgane, scientific adviser to the International Whaling Commission.

Such reports have generated an interest in intelligence and language abilities of many family. Tapes of their underwater songs are being played at hundreds of universities in a "decelph" them. So far there has been no success.

Because the large whales are so difficult to study, researchers have turned to the dolphin. They attempted to prove that they communicate. Claimed success have not satisfied fellow researchers, says a reputable worker in the field, experiments which were not successful.

In one highly publicized experiment, Dr. Peter Morgane has written several books on his experiences. He attempted to teach some of these highly trainable creatures to speak English with a mechanical device. Although he claimed partial success, few are convinced.

On the other hand, even the most conservative whale experts admit that their subjects react to a given set of circumstances in a great many ways. Lower animals tend to have a limited repertoire, consistently repeated. The more "intelligent" an animal, the more flexible it is.

John Sutphen, a radiologist at Lawrence Memorial Hospital in New London, Connecticut, is one of the people who believes in the whale's intelligence. He became interested in them because of their ability to navigate using sound. An expert in using high-frequency sound to construct pictures of the inside of the body, Dr. Sutphen says his machines operate on the same principles as the dolphin's method of echo location, only they are cruder.

What whales would 'see'

"I don't think we'll ever know what whales are thinking," he speculates. "The same things just wouldn't be important to us. We are interested mainly in things and in symbols. But if you start thinking about sound, you realize that what they 'see' is mostly inside: the breathing, bones, organs, the blood moving. From this they could tell other animals' emotional states: whether they are afraid."

Coupled with these studies of whales are efforts to save them. From 1960 to 1970 more whales were killed than in any past decade. Dolphins, too, are being killed in large numbers because of modern tuna-catching methods (yellow-fin tuna swim behind dolphins).

"Save the whale" groups are trying to organize a boycott of Japanese and Soviet goods because these two nations have the most active whaling fleets. They also urge shoppers to buy white tuna instead of the light tuna, made from yellowfin.

"Whales are peaceful, marvelous, and graceful creatures," says Roger Payne of Rockefeller University, who has spent a great deal of time on the Patagonian coast of Argentina observing whales which winter there. "I think they deserve something better than being turned into automatic transmitters of pollution fluid." His sentiment appears to be gathering strength.

Killer whales off Puget Sound, Washington

UPI photo



science

Research notebook

Start a car: 'turn on' a plant

By Robert C. Cowen

Every time you start a car, switch on a furnace, or light a gas flame, you may encourage more plants to inhabit the earth. You are doing your bit to add to the carbon dioxide with which the burning of gas, oil, and coal burdens the atmosphere. Many environmentalists have wondered if this might influence climate. Now, it seems, it may affect earth life directly as well.

Northwestern University's Fred T. Mackenzie told a recent American Chemical Society meeting he estimates the added carbon dioxide has induced a 10 percent increase in earth's plant mass since the late 19th century.

Carbon dioxide in air acts like glass in a greenhouse, blocking some of the outgoing heat radiation and helping warm the earth. By adding to the carbon dioxide naturally in air, man may enhance this effect, hence the concern about possible climatic influence. Such an influence would be subtle, and scientists have yet to pin it down.

They are not even sure where all the added carbon dioxide goes. Only about one-third of it seems to stay in the atmosphere. The rest may dissolve in the sea or help build up plants. In spite of long study, scientists haven't agreed on the likelihood of either fate. Now Dr. Mackenzie says that his study indicates that a good deal of the carbon dioxide goes into increasing the total mass of plant life.

He explained that man is adding three key elements to the environment — carbon, nitrogen, and phosphorus (in fertilizers) — in the ratio of 800 to 9 to 1. His estimates of the accumulated quantities of phosphorus and nitrogen and of the "missing" carbon dioxide are on the order of those needed to make plant tissues.

If he is right and the ocean is taking up less of the carbon dioxide than some experts have suggested, some biologists will still be concerned about the effect of this gas on the sea. They think it might upset marine chemistry and make shellfish and even coral reefs dissolve.

To build and maintain shells, many organisms depend on seawater being oversaturated with certain carbonate compounds. Too much carbon dioxide dissolving in the sea can change the chemical balance so the upper waters become deficient in carbonates.

At the present rate of carbon dioxide increase in air, some experts think this could happen in less than a century in some parts of the sea.

The chemistry is complex and poorly understood, and critics challenge the shellfish threat theory. Nevertheless, two of the theory's proponents, A. W. Fairhall and John L. Richey, of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, are granting the criticism. There are grounds for serious concern about the impact of fossil carbon dioxide on the ocean. And M. Whitfield of Britain's Marine Biological Association, one of their chief critics, agrees that there is enough uncertainty to merit such concern.

There is an aspect of carbon dioxide pollution that environmentalists often overlook. They have made much of possible climate-changing influences. But if the rise in carbon dioxide is stimulating plant growth and threatening shell-bearing organisms in the sea, its biological impact, when fully understood, may turn out to be more significant than any climatic effect.

Oxford and Cambridge: Will traffic shatter their medieval calm?

By Terence Bendixson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bicycling undergraduates with fluttering gowns, pinnacled college chapels, and academic calm: These are the kinds of associations conjured up by Oxford and Cambridge. The reality is like that — except for the calm. Both of these famous university towns have been in steady retreat for 30 years in the face of relentless attack by motor traffic.

Oxford's High Street, with its curving parade of gothic and classical buildings, is the shortest route between two sides of a thriving industrial town, as well as being a main way to the shops. And Oxford's industry is not light. British Leyland's plant at Cowley was one of the cradles of motor manufacturing in England and remains a major center of production. Not that the guide books say much about that.

Cambridge has traffic troubles, too. Magdalen Bridge, where the River Cam slides silently past precipitous college walls and offers glimpses of secluded lawns, is the sort of place that invites contemplation. Unfortunately the bridge also carries a national highway through the city, though two stage coaches could not pass on it without locking wheels. With the coming of container freight, it has therefore become customary for vast trucks to jostle for position on the bridge with undergraduates going to and from tutorials.

But now all this is changing. Measures are being taken in both cities against out-of-place traffic. The needs of pedestrians, cyclists, and bus passengers are being put first, and motorists fitted in afterward. And the goal of better environmental conditions is beginning to be treated as more important than access by car.

At present, Cambridge appears to be leading in the race to eliminate the worst evils of traffic (as they did in this year's boat race). Since February, the city center's two main "through routes" have been experimentally shut to cars and trucks. Pedestrians, cyclists, and bus and taxi riders can still cross the city by them, but all other vehicles have to go round. Cars and vans may enter on business but are obliged to go out the same way as they came in.

As a result of these measures, traffic on the city's medieval streets has dropped; pedestrians can now breathe and hear themselves think; the bus service has improved. And surprisingly, traffic has not increased noticeably elsewhere. This last effect has surprised the city engineer, but it seems to prove, yet again, the existence of a "Parkinson's law for automobiles": Cater to traffic and it will increase; discourage it and it will decline.

Cambridge is also taking bicyclists seriously. Undergraduate youth and penuriousness, coupled with lack of parking space in the middle of the city, has always guaranteed the popularity of bicycles, though a traffic survey in 1967 showed that lots of townies use them too.

Conditions for cycling have already been made more comfortable in the center and pettifoggish municipal signs saying NO CYCLING have been removed from the city's parks and commons. Work is now getting under way to eliminate obstacles to cyclists throughout the city.

Comparable changes have been made in Oxford, but something more spectacular is in prospect. This is to use the city as a gigantic laboratory for unprecedented efforts to persuade motorists not to use their cars. Key streets would be closed to autos, traffic

signals used to hold cars in lines where could not obstruct buses, and parking raised not just to deter commuters but to reduce the use of cars for short visiting, and other purposes.

Such an experiment, which has been forward by the county council for some time, would cost about \$600,000. Neither is there a discussion in plenty.

If this kind of shift in policy is to lead down to ivory-tower romanticism, the results of work at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris suggest exactly the opposite. Studies prepared for a meeting in April "Better Towns with Less Traffic" said that the new approach is being applied in cities such as Nagoya in Japan, with a million residents, and in mid-sized cities such as Nottingham, England, with a million inhabitants.

Government officials from all the North American countries who attended the meeting there concluded that implemented, low-cost traffic management techniques, designed to limit the use and promote alternatives to them, could be more widely adopted.

Ten years ago a comparable group of officials would have given their blessing to construction of urban freeways. Their site numbers in Oxford and Cambridge were the most perfect places in Europe.

But now the tide is turning. As Mr. Leodolter, Austrian Minister of Health and Environment, said at the opening of the conference: "Our purpose is not to build towns for motor vehicles but to build towns for men."

Viets bring gold nest eggs

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Most of whatever wealth South Vietnamese refugees managed to salvage in their flight from Vietnam is in the form of small gold bars.

And they are selling this gold, in increasing quantities, to finance the beginning of their new lives in America.

So many of the refugees are carrying gold that Air Force officers at Camp Pendleton, California, near San Diego, have expressed concern that they might run some risks on the streets of American cities. The officers have advised the Vietnamese to convert their gold into dollars and deposit the money in banks.

As in many countries of Asia and Europe, the Vietnamese, even peasants and fishermen, put their savings, however small, into gold and sometimes jewelry, because they lack faith in the local currency. Some also accumulated French and Swiss francs, and dollars. So when the end came they were, at least to this extent, ready.

These are the observations of officials of Deak & Co., foreign exchange and gold dealers, who are operating five branches in Guam and have been invited by the Air Force to open additional branches at Camp Pendleton, Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, and Eglin Air Force Base in Florida.

An official of Deak & Co. in Washington said that on the first day of the refugees' arrival at

Guam, they converted \$500,000 in gold into U.S. money and that on one subsequent day purchases of gold reached \$1,320,000.

While Nicholas L. Deak, president and founder of the company, said that he would prefer not to disclose the total amount of transactions to date, it is clearly large and rising.

The Washington official of the company said that most of the gold bars brought in by the Vietnamese originated in Vientiane, the capital of Laos, which is the gold distribution capital of southeast Asia. Some bars are stamped "Hong Kong" and "Saigon."

Almost all are of high quality, assaying at better than 90 karats, or .996 percent fine. Highest quality is .9999 fine, as determined by a test in which the gold bar is scratched with a gold needle and the minute amount of gold removed by the scratch is deposited on a clean stone. The spot made by the deposit is then washed in a mixture of acid called aqua regia. If it does not disappear the quality of gold is adequate.

Some of the refugees, who were limited to bringing with them a single bag of personal possessions, also carry jewelry. But Deak & Co., which dispatched a special crew from New York to Guam to meet the sudden rush of gold business, does not deal in precious stones. An official said most refugees would wait until they were established in the United States to dispose of jewelry, the value of which is variable and could be determined only by shopping from dealer to dealer.

You're better off in the U.S.A.

Some New Yorkers would take a financial wallop in the cities of Europe

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

If a New York bank cashier, for example, or a schoolteacher or bus driver or garage mechanic or secretary or office supervisor, chucked his job to live in Paris and do the same work at ruling rates, what would be the result, financially?

A disaster according to an elaborate documented study of 36 of the world's leading cities.

First his salary would drop 50 percent, taking the average of the six occupations specified in the study, with the schoolteacher and garage worker suffering a loss of 64 percent each. The bus driver and office supervisor would lose about half their New York salaries, and the secretary and bank cashier about one-third.

The new salary received in a foreign city — unless the employee has a guarantee from a multinational company or a government administration that the American salary scale will be adhered to — is only part of the problem.

Higher living costs, due in France to the government habit of adding a sales tax of either 20 or 33 percent to the prices of most things, force the immigrant from New York to

work far longer in Paris to obtain the same food, lodging, equipment, clothing, and services.

The study from which these figures are taken has just been published by the Union de Banques Suisses. The 36 world centers analyzed include New York, Chicago, and San Francisco for the United States and London, Paris, Brussels, Luxembourg, Düsseldorf, and Rome for the European Community.

To show in a single figure the combined effect of salary reduction and cost-of-living increase the report measures six kinds of expenses by the number of hours of work required.

The net result, taking an average for the six kinds of employment mentioned above, is that it will take far more working hours to obtain the same goods and services in Paris than would have been needed in New York.

The same amount of food or the same amount of women's clothing would use up twice as many working hours in Paris as in New York. Men's clothing would take 74 percent more work, services in general 65 percent more, a three-room apartment 35 percent more, and household equipment 78 percent more work.

The study shows that neither London nor Düsseldorf would oblige the migrant to work quite so many hours for the same result.

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OUT OF THE LABORATORY

Butterfly study launched to see if they're threatened

For the first time, the term "endangered species" is being applied to a common insect world. The U.S. Department of Interior has announced plans to list a species of butterflies, whose habitat is being destroyed, with an eye toward making it illegal for anyone to capture or kill a single member of the threatened species.

Scots go into fish farming on a commercial scale

Raising fish in controlled stretches of lochs is working so well in Scotland's west that fish farming experts are predicting that in 15 years the trade will be worth around £70,000,000 (about \$140 million).

In most current experimentation. Some American experimentation has produced the phenomenon at temperatures as high as 23 degrees Kelvin: this is a considerable advantage, as it allows the use of cheaper hydrogen as the liquid gas used for cooling instead of helium, which can reach a lower temperature but is in scarce supply.

At these low temperatures resistance to an electric current virtually vanishes, and huge amounts of current can be sent over relatively tiny wires. Present studies project transmission of two or even four gigawatts (2,000 or 4,000 megawatts) on superconducting cables as compared to .04 megawatts on comparable normal cables.

Superconductive power transmission is still in an early "high-risk" stage of research, with no guarantee of eventual practical benefits. But the saying of "duplicating costs" — makes particular sense. It is comparable to cooperative research at early stages by American firms before competitive application begins.

Essentially, in the joint experimentation, the Soviet Union is to produce a 100-meter long test cable by the end of this year while the United States is to produce the refrigerating unit for it. Each will cost about \$1 million.

In the superconductivity field, the Soviets have performed outstanding experiments in the electrical strength of liquid helium at various temperatures and pressures. They have also carried power engineering and actual construction of cable further than the United States, as electrical engineering in the U.S. lost many of its students to more promising fields such as electronics or computers.

The American side has more experience in

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	Dollars		Dollars
Argentinian pesos	102	Israeli pound	180
Australian dollar	1.350	Italian lire	0.016
Austrian schilling	0.60	Japanese yen	0.003
Belgian franc	0.28	Mexican peso	0.060
British pound	1.27	Norwegian krone	0.020
Canadian dollar	2.230	Portuguese escudo	0.01
Colombian peso	0.970	South African rand	1.477
Czechoslovak koruna	0.35	Spanish peseta	0.017
Danish krone	0.182	Swedish krona	0.254
French franc	0.245	Swiss franc	0.368
Dutch guilder	0.418	Venezuelan bolivar	0.234
Hong Kong dollar	0.95	W. German Deutschmark	0.425

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home

Picture books for the very young

The Adventures of Little Mouk, by Wilhelm Hauff, translated by Elizabeth Shub, illustrated by Monika Laimgruber. New York: Macmillan. \$6.95. London: Hamish Hamilton. £2.2.

Anno's Alphabet, by Mitsumasa Anno. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. \$6.95. London: Bodley Head. £2.50.

The Painter and the Bird, written and illustrated by Max Velthuis, translated by Ray Broekel. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. \$5.50.

By Guernsey Le Pelley

As a general rule children don't like giants. They like little people, being little themselves. In The Adventures of Little Mouk, the hero, as

Children

his name indicates, never grew very big, so in a children's book he is an instant hit.

The story is a rambling adventure in the style of the Arabian Nights, with pictures to

match, rendered in a mystical treatment of ancient Turkey.

Little Mouk starts his travels by trying to be Mr. Nice Guy, but it doesn't work. The Biggies are always taking advantage of him and causing trouble. But our hero has a few things going for him in the way of magic shoes and fairyland figs which do remarkable things.

The bad king gets his comeuppance and at the end Little Mouk goes magically off into the sunset, alone, like a miniature Turkish cowboy secure in his inner wisdom.

Anno's Alphabet is an alphabet picture book which with artful optics twists the wits and does to the eye what a tongue twister does to speech.

The letters, constructed with intricate skill as if carved in wood, are faithful as the shape but upon second look they begin to deceive the vision and tease the mind. It is a device which is sure to delight children or adults. This whimsical violation of perspective is by no means new to art, having been an amusing preoccupation of artists over the centuries; but the game of putting the eye at variance

with intelligence, when done with this level of competency, never fails to intrigue.

Anno's Alphabet has another delightful trap. His meticulously drawn page borders contain hidden objects which begin with the featured letter of the page.

Artists, as anyone who has ever seen a movie, knows, are poor but honest. Rich men, on the other hand, are unscrupulous and, well... rich! So what does the rich man in The Painter and the Bird do? He unscrupulously persuades the artist to sell him a picture by offering him lots of guess what? Money!

There is a bird in the picture and when he finds himself in the rich man's house he immediately becomes unhappy. And in the manner of all unhappy birds he flies out of the picture and away, only to become lost. The rich man, not having what he purchased, returns the picture and demands his money back. (There's that word again.)

Guernsey Le Pelley, the Monitor's editorial cartoonist, is also the author of children's stories and the creator of "Tubby."



From 'The Painter'

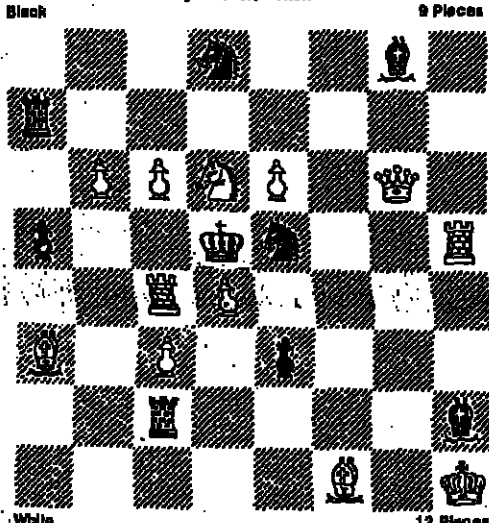
chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier

Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

Problem No. 6691

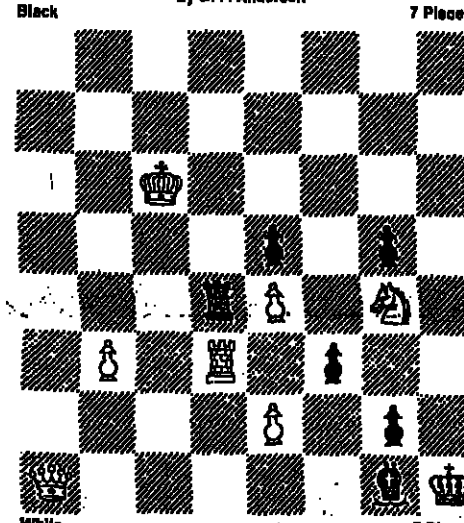
By A. V. Helmen



White to play and mate in two.
(Second prize, Caecili Memorial, 1974.)

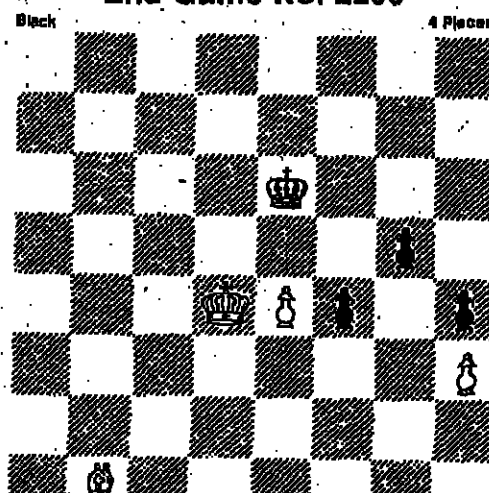
Problem No. 6692

By G. F. Anderson



White to play and mate in three.
(London Times, 1985.)

End-Game No. 2200



him as his best from the Michigan tourney. A Budapest defense never quite equalizes and Feldman is able to develop central passed pawns.

Budapest Defense

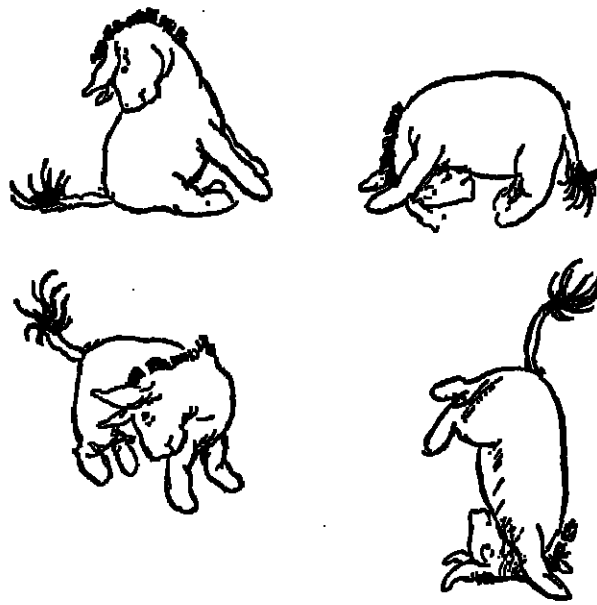
Feldman	White	Briggs	Black
1 P-Q4	KI-KB3	18 B-B4ch	K-R
2 P-QB4	P-K4	17 QR-K	P-K4
3 PxP	KI-K5	18 B-K3	O-K3ch
4 KI-KB3	KI-QB3	19 K-R	P-QB4
5 B-Q2	B-K5	20 Q-Q5	QR-K
6 KxK1	KI-K4	21 B-Q2	O-Q2
7 KxK1	KI-K4	22 QxQ	P-Q3
8 P-K4	O-O	23 R-Q	R-Q
9 B-K2	P-QK3	24 P-KK3	R-B2
10 O-O	B-K2	25 P-K3	KI-B
11 KI-Q5	Bx8	26 B-K4	R-B
12 Qx8	BxK1	27 B-B5	R-K
13 Bx8	P-QB3	28 P-K6	R-K2
14 P-B4	KI-K3	29 P-Q7	Resigns
15 P-Q6	P-B3		

Black plays P-K5 what can White do? (The answer is: "Nothing." The game was played in 1975. Actually White missed the saving move, and lost.)

Solutions to Problems

Problem No. 6691: 1. Q-K3; 2. Q-Q4; 3. QxK1; 4. QxK1; 5. QxK1; 6. QxK1; 7. QxK1; 8. QxK1; 9. QxK1; 10. QxK1; 11. QxK1; 12. QxK1; 13. QxK1; 14. QxK1; 15. QxK1; 16. QxK1; 17. QxK1; 18. QxK1; 19. QxK1; 20. QxK1; 21. QxK1; 22. QxK1; 23. QxK1; 24. QxK1; 25. QxK1; 26. QxK1; 27. QxK1; 28. QxK1; 29. QxK1; 30. QxK1; 31. QxK1; 32. QxK1; 33. QxK1; 34. QxK1; 35. QxK1; 36. QxK1; 37. QxK1; 38. QxK1; 39. QxK1; 40. QxK1; 41. QxK1; 42. QxK1; 43. QxK1; 44. QxK1; 45. QxK1; 46. QxK1; 47. QxK1; 48. QxK1; 49. QxK1; 50. QxK1; 51. QxK1; 52. QxK1; 53. QxK1; 54. QxK1; 55. QxK1; 56. QxK1; 57. QxK1; 58. QxK1; 59. QxK1; 60. QxK1; 61. QxK1; 62. QxK1; 63. QxK1; 64. QxK1; 65. QxK1; 66. QxK1; 67. QxK1; 68. QxK1; 69. QxK1; 70. QxK1; 71. QxK1; 72. QxK1; 73. QxK1; 74. QxK1; 75. QxK1; 76. QxK1; 77. QxK1; 78. QxK1; 79. QxK1; 80. QxK1; 81. QxK1; 82. QxK1; 83. QxK1; 84. QxK1; 85. QxK1; 86. QxK1; 87. QxK1; 88. QxK1; 89. QxK1; 90. QxK1; 91. QxK1; 92. QxK1; 93. QxK1; 94. QxK1; 95. QxK1; 96. QxK1; 97. QxK1; 98. QxK1; 99. 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books



E. H. Shepard

The man who drew Pooh and turned toys into people

By Christopher Andreas
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

"Enchanting," "delightful": this is how E. H. Shepard's illustrations are most often described. But such cover-blurb adjectives don't really do him justice. His famous "decorations" in the four Christopher Robin books and "The Wind in the Willows" are probably better characterized as affectionate and funny.

The feeling of loveliness they inspire is probably what has turned them into classics. As "art" they are not much better or worse than a host of contributions to "Punch" over the years — and Shepard himself was not unproductive in that direction — but few illustrations in the history of children's literature have made such a mark by such gentle means. Shepard's drawings are essentially modest, cheerful and observant — scarcely qualities to send aesthetes over the clouds — but aren't they almost ideal for their actual purpose?

It has been observed that now, in the 1970s, is a golden age for children's book illustration. Color and imagination take the breath away. A vast contingent of highly talented artists are at work in this area. But I believe it could be commented at some future date that the illustrations of the sixties and early seventies (the late seventies may see a return, due to inflation, of black-and-white line drawings) were characterized, among other things, by a kind of extravagance.

The one thing Shepard's work, back in the 1920s and '30s, was not, was extravagant. His visual material fitted into the text; it was apt and contributive, but never ran riot all over the page reducing the words to a subsidiary role. It can of course be argued that the needs of today's children are entirely different from the contemporaries of Christopher Milne. Nevertheless those small, well-placed decorations have an appeal which shows

little sign of abating, even in the original uncolored versions, with the 50th anniversary of "Pooh's" publication next year.

The striking thing is that A. A. Milne's four books are virtually inconceivable without Shepard's drawings. Their rightness is unchallenged. Christmas pantomimes and even Disneyfication have left them unscathed. Imagine that little middle-class nursery-child of the 1920s redrawn? Impossible. Visualize Pooh in any other style or shape or touch? Sacrilege! He would be a more sheep without a Shepard.

In Christopher Milne's recent autobiography, there are photographs of the actual teddy bear on which the stories are based. Its lack of resemblance to Shepard's drawings of it is interesting; character is clearly in the eye of the beholder. The wonder is the way in which the illustrator developed a Pooh who visually presents the author's conception of him: humbly helpful, bubbly honey-loving, with a dreamy propensity for predicament, and hummily; invulnerably, heart-warmingly brainless.

If it is true that the humor and subtle complications of language and plot are actually beyond the majority of small children, the situations and antics "told" by Shepard's drawings are decidedly not. If Milne was really writing about childhood rather than for children, his illustrator made no such mistake. He did with his pen what children do with their toys: he turned the toys into believable living people.

Pooh and Eeyore and Piglet and Kanga have become people. And yet they remain toys. The balance is just right. Shepard makes it crystal clear where fantasy and actuality begin and end. This is because his imagination is squarely based on careful observation. His drawing of the Forest (actually Ashdown Forest in East Sussex), of Christopher (who admits that he looked exactly like

that), and his accurate sketching of those animals which are not toys — Rabbit and his friends and relations, and Owl — are simply literal.

What about Shepard's other illustrations? To judge by those I have seen, his particular talents have never been so well suited as they were by the Milne books. The two coming closest are "The Wind in the Willows" and his own (here I go) delightful and enchanting childhood autobiography. In both books he shows his remarkable knack — really that of a cartoonist — for touching precisely on the telling moment in a narrative.

To compare his friendly illustrations for Graham's book with those done in 1940 by Arthur Rackham is revealing. In Rackham's a hint of the grotesque lurks round every strange tree. His animals aren't humanized or euphemized. It is easy to see them as the source of childhood nightmares. Shepard's pictures don't contain the slightest hint of the mysterious or haunting. They don't display a profound artist's imagination, certainly, but their special strength is that they are inarguably suitable for a children's book.

When illustrating books requiring more fantasy, he seems somehow less able to cope. When he can resort to his own brand of harmless English wit, he is happiest. His illustration for Hans Andersen's story of "The Emperor's New Clothes" is a good example. The state procession through the streets is all circumstance and pomp. The eyes of the halberdiers, of the king himself, indicate an awareness of the awful truth, and of the need for Pretending. Only the child running in from the right, pointing, escaped from anxious adult hands — only the child isn't pretending. Like Shepard, the child is disarmingly literal. He knows.

BUT WHAT DOES HE KNOW? Not that the king is wearing sweet nothing. No; Shepard has turned the joke, and, with lovely Edwardian modesty, has clothed the right royal paunch in a pair of woolly combinations. How sensible.

Illustrations clockwise from top from "Wind in the Willows," "Scribner's House at Pooh Corner," "Dell," and "Winnie-the-Pooh." Dell

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From "The House at Pooh Corner," Dell

Christopher Robin remembers

The Enchanted Places, by Christopher Milne, illustrated with photographs and E. H. Shepard line drawings. New York: E. P. Dutton, \$6.95. London: Eyre Methuen.

By Janet Domowitz

Christopher Robin has grown up. The Enchanted Places is Mr. Milne's memoir of a childhood so many know through his father's stories and verses, "Now We Are Six," "When We Were Very Young," "Winnie-the-Pooh," and "The House at Pooh Corner." This is not an elaborate dissection of the Pooh fantasy but a charming estimation of how often young Milne's adventures matched those of the young boy in A. A. Milne's work.

"It is difficult to be sure which came first. Did I do something and did my father then write a story around it? Or was it the other way about, and did the story come first? Certainly my father was on the look-out for ideas for his stories; but so was I. He wanted ideas for his stories, I wanted them for my games, and each looked towards the other for inspiration. But in the end it was all the same: the stories became part of our lives; we lived them, thought them, spoke them."

Mr. Milne takes the reader on a guided tour of all those wonderful places Christopher Robin and his famous toys played in field and forest near the family home in East Sussex. He answers the oft-asked questions. Was he called Christopher Robin? Does he remember when his father's stories were first read to him? Who was Anne Darlington?

There really was a Pooh, Eeyore, a Piglet, a Kanga, and a Tigger. Roo was lost in an apple orchard after an afternoon of playing with Nanny and Christopher Robin. When feeling particularly "wicked," Anne Darlington and Christopher Robin called her multi-chinned nanny "Jam Puff." Alexander Beetle did live in a matchbox. And Christopher Robin did spend a lot of time in trees. The fantasy of Owl's house was born while A. A. Milne watched his son climb, jump, swing, and balance on a moss-covered beech tree in Five Hundred Acre Wood.

This book never sinks into sentimentality. It is not pegged awkwardly onto the other Milne's successes, but stands strongly on its own merits. The embarrassment and regret Christopher Milne felt in later boyhood about being the Christopher Robin is handled gracefully in the introduction and epilogue.

A portrait of the Milne family emerges from "The Enchanted Places" — the tastes in books and sports the parents nurtured in the son, the imagination, pride, humor, and trust shared. Now Mr. Milne is a bookseller in Devon. His recollection of his early years add a vivid dimension to what have become classics of children's literature.

Janet Domowitz is children's book editor for the Monitor.

books

U.S. and Soviets make a movie together

By Elizabeth Pond

Leningrad
"Tishe v pavilione!" ("Quiet in the hall!") Everybody obediently quiets down, and the Lithuanian cameraman with his American camera is rolled in to take the scene. "Behold the diamond!" says Mytyl the boy (Todd Lookinland) to Night (Jane Fonda), and she is obliged to surrender the magic key. Mytyl goes off to open the door, and Bread, Sugar, and the rest of the lot fall in behind him.

"Plokhoi!" ("Bad!") cameraman Jonas Gritsis exclaims disapprovingly, shaking his mane of white hair. He again orders quiet and gets some of the lights changed on the master electronic board that is such a novelty to American participants.

George Cukor — the unflappable director of Greta Garbo, Katharine Hepburn, and Ava Gardner — who made his first film in 1930, takes the opportunity to instruct his actors.

Film

Night should move faster, the boy should be master of the scene — and Bread, Sugar, etc., should move individually and not all face the camera.

Then the dolly rolls in again and take 107 goes on the celluloid for the fourth time that day.

The Leningrad scene is the first joint Hollywood-Soviet film production, and people on both sides are learning a lot. The movie is Maurice Maeterlinck's classic "The Blue Bird," a fairy tale that is even more of a favorite in the Soviet Union than in Europe and the U.S. The cast includes Elizabeth Taylor as Mother, Maternal Love, Witch, and Light; comedian James Coco as the Dog; Cicely Tyson as the more reprehensible Cat; Bolshoi star Maya Plisetskaya as Water; and Russia's new ballet sensation Nadya Pavlova as the elusive Blue Bird.

During one of the innumerable hills Cukor talks politely about the joys and hazards of filming jointly for Twentieth Century Fox and Leningrad's Lenfilm studio.

"When I left to come here, my friends gave me a fond farewell," he says. "In a kind of mournful way they said, 'Aren't you courageous and foolhardy?'"

Cukor, who had made movies in England, Spain, India, and many other parts of the globe, doesn't consider Russia so "remote," however. One has to get used to a different "tempo," he notes, but this is no more difficult than any other filming. "Every picture is an agony in its own way," he says with a laugh. "You are insured to that and you know the vicissitudes." He adds that he was born optimistic in the mornings.

"The Blue Bird's" optimism is clearly one of the things that attracted Cukor to the venture. When asked to direct the film, Cukor read the story and was "absolutely startled at the freshness of it. [Maeterlinck] is an expert dramatist. It all worked for me. I felt, well, it's poetic, it's hopeful. It's not sour, and I hope I can do it."

"Maeterlinck has done something very extraordinary. He has taken a morality play and done it most tenderly for children and with a great deal of originality. But I think healthy adults will like it too."

Other Westerners — American and British — in the production are less reserved in describing the surprises that awaited them in Leningrad. On the positive side these include an imaginative construction of sets that would be prohibitively costly in Hollywood. The stove in Mytyl's cottage is furnished with special bluebird tiles that cost \$100 each, for example. And 20 artists spent a month fashioning 30,000 individual leaves for a spectacular fantasy garden that will appear on screen for all of two or three minutes.

None of the Americans knows what Lenfilm will do out for the production, but they estimate that the film would run to at least \$5 million in the West.

On the negative side costume and scenery designer (and children's author) Brian Wild-Smith complains that the seamstresses here

resisted his unorthodox designs so strongly that they were finally gutted in favor of a slight variation on tights. He argues too that the ballet aspect of the movie has run away with the story.

Others in the production single out the Russian indifference to time, and to getting things done, as their chief frustration. Shooting is now scheduled to end this summer, but the actors are joking about spending next Christmas in Leningrad.

Part of the reason for the slowness is Russian unwillingness to work overtime. There's no overtime pay in Soviet film studios of the sort that would keep a technical crew at the Hollywood lab all night to develop rushes, by the next morning.

Another reason is technical. The director of photography and the cameraman are the same person in Russia, and this means extra time for him to see everything and then film it.

Probably the major decelerator, though, and the hardest for the Americans to get used to, is the habit of discussion. Ironically, in the U.S. the director and the director of photography are czars and everybody else follows their orders. In Russia, a democratic free-for-all follows every scene, and even the off-camera teacher of a participating ballerina can get a scene shot over again if her pupil's arm didn't fall right in the last take.

Cukor is philosophical about this erosion of his prerogatives. He hopes the film hasn't gotten too balletic in its on-the-spot mutations, and he thinks it has preserved the basic humor of the script. "If you have some kind of vision, that somehow comes out on the screen," he concludes. And he goes cheerfully off to direct the umpteenth take of Night handing the key to Mytyl.



Nadezhda Pavlova rehearses

Agatha Christie classic

By David Sterritt

"Ten little Indian boys went out to dine. . . ." So begins the bizarre nursery rhyme that Agatha Christie turned into one of the world's most popular mystery stories. Her novel "And Then There Were None," also

Film

known as "Ten Little Indians," has sold uncountable copies, and twice been turned into a popular movie.

Now — sic transit gloria Agatha — the classic tale has been motion-picturized again. And this time the result is a bomb, despite the efforts of a famed international cast.

The basic plot remains chilling and thrilling, though the edge might be taken off if you remember it from its previous incarnations. Ten people are tricked into gathering at an outlandishly lonely spot, where a mysterious personage proceeds to accuse them of crimes unpunishable by the law. One by one the "Indians" expire, in keeping with the verses of the macabre poem, while the mystery grows as to the identity of the vengeful U. N. Owen — "unknown."

Well, stay home and read the book — it's brisk, efficient, and primitively entertaining — if you want to learn how it comes out.

The new movie is scenically photographed by Fernando Arrabal, but that's about all it has in its favor. Peter Collinson's direction is slow and slack. Peter Welbeck's screenplay changes the ending all around, making the outcome less more "cinematic" but less inevitable and inexorable than Miss Christie's conception.

And nearly all the performers are defeated by bad voice-dubbing and silly dialogue. Richard Attenborough somehow emerges convincing — he is a master anyway — but Oliver Reed, Elke Sommer, Stephen Audran, Gert

Probe, Herbert Lom, Adolfo Cell, Charles Aznavour, et al seem made of wood. Orson Welles's voice, as the unseen U. N. Owen, is the best actor in the picture.

Oh, yes — and you can easily guess whodunit long before the end, whether or not you already know the answer.

"Indians" fails, out of sheer lethargy. No amount of plot-changing, or shifting the site from a rocky English island to an exotic Iranian desert inn, can help.

'Mandingo'

Without further ado, "Mandingo" is one of the awfulest movies I've seen in years.

It's hard to imagine what they thought they were doing when they made "Mandingo." My guess is that they were trying for an old-fashioned Hollywood melodrama-epic, updated with the very latest in sex and violence.

The sex and violence are there all right, but the whole stew looks as if it was cooked up in some back lot of Dante's Inferno, not in any recognizable Hollywood niche.

Peculiarly, some big names are attached to the project. James Mason stars as a degenerate plantation owner in the deep South. Susan George plays his degenerate daughter-in-law. Paul Benedict — the zany British neighbor on TV's "The Jeffersons" — plays a degenerate slave-dealer. Richard Fleischer, one of Hollywood's busiest directors, directed. Dino De Laurentiis produced.

Suffice to say that even James Mason, an expert and experienced performer, falls to win our sympathy (or convince us that his character is real) even for a moment. Mr. Fleischer's direction is even more ponderous than it was in "Tora Tora Tora" and "The Last Run" and "Ten Rillington Place."

This is not what you would call a tasteful movie. James Mason and Paul Benedict, what are nice actors like you doing in a place like this?

French/German

How Ivan sees his wartime comrades

By Albert L. Weeks

The collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union during World War II was given a mixed treatment in Moscow on the 30th anniversary of V-E Day. Official Soviet statements reveal an ideological tension between the contemporary "detente" point of view and the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The detente line, promoted by the closest allies of Leonid Brezhnev, treats the anniversary as evidence that American-Soviet collaboration is capable of preventing world wars. Both in Washington and Moscow Mr. Brezhnev has referred to the wartime "coalition" between his country and the Western capitalist countries as fundamental to a true understanding of the basis for today's detente between East and West.

Recently Pravda ran a long article written by the pro-Soviet American spokesman, Albert Kahn. The newspaper quoted, and thereby implicitly endorsed, Mr. Kahn's remarks as follows: "Speaking of today's urgent necessity of detente, we must never forget

that in fact it was the absence of detente after World War I which with stubborn logic led to the birth and flourishing of Nazism." Kahn went on to point out that American shipments to Russia of Lend Lease military supplies played an "important" part in the Soviet victory over the Germans.

But from a strictly ideological point of view, both the World War II partnership of Soviet and capitalist powers and the present relationship of detente between the two camps exert a strain on the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism. For one thing, traditionalists within the party or the media rarely use the word "allies" to describe the wartime alliance. Instead, they use the Russian cognate for the English word "coalition." Coalition implies a much looser, short-term link-up than does "alliance" or "ally." Soviet ideologues obviously prefer "coalition" for it lends a proper connotation to both the World War II collaboration and the present relationship between East and West.

Moreover, Soviet history books, including the most recent editions approved for high schools and institutions of higher learning, stress the traditional party line that the Soviet Union was drawn into World War II by "Western capitalist imperialism" and by the plotting of certain Western ruling circles who wished to deflect the Hitler hordes eastward toward the U.S.S.R. (These books, of course, ignore the other interpretation, namely that Stalin made his pact with Hitler in August, 1939, for the purpose of deflecting those same hordes westward, where actually they proceeded to turn.)

Echoing this harder line are the principal spokesmen for the military, who have given commemorative speeches and written articles about the anniversary. They tell the Soviet citizen that "imperialism has not changed its nature until today," that the principal danger of a new world war still stems from the continued existence of capitalism. This line runs through the statements of such highly

placed figures as Defense Minister and Politburo member Marshal Andrei Grechko to the chief of the political directorate of the armed forces, General Alexei Yegorov.

Still, the more moderate "civilian" line, the anniversary seems to have the edge on the more rigid position regarding the significance of the wartime alliance against a background of detente. For example, a photograph of Soviet and American soldiers walking arm-in-arm down a street in Torgau in April, 1945, was published recently in Pravda. But it was probably not the most attentive Soviet reader that the official source of the picture was none other than the U.S. Information Agency — thus having the impression that the Russians themselves declined to run a photograph of their own illustrious that short-lived comradeship of decades ago.

Mr. Weeks is a professor at New York University, and has written two books on Soviet affairs.

Wie sehen die Russen ihre Kriegskameraden?

Von Albert L. Weeks

Der Umstand, daß die Vereinigten Staaten und die Sowjetunion während des Zweiten Weltkriegs Bündnispartner waren, erfuhr in Moskau zum dreißigsten Jahrestag des Kriegsendes in Europa eine recht unterschiedliche Behandlung. Die offiziellen sowjetischen Erklärungen lassen eine ideologische Spannung zwischen den Befürwortern der derzeitigen "Entspannung" und den Anhängern der Theorie des Marxismus-Leninismus erkennen.

Die Befürworter der Entspannung, zu denen die engsten Verbündeten Leonid Breschnevs zählen, behandeln den Jahrestag als einen Beweis dafür, daß die amerikanisch-sowjetische Zusammenarbeit in Moskau hat Brezhnev auf die „Koalition“ Bezug genommen, die sein Land während des Krieges mit den westlichen kapitalistischen Ländern eingegangen war, und erklärt, daß sie eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wenn man wirklich verstehen möchte, worauf heute die Entspannung zwischen Ost und West beruht.

Kürzlich brachte die Pravda einen langen, von dem prosovjetschen Wortführer in Amerika, Albert Kahn, verfaßten Artikel. Die Zeitung zitierte folgende Bemerkungen Kahns und billigte

sie damit indirekt: „Wenn davon die Rede ist, wie dringend notwendig heute die Entspannung ist, dürfen wir niemals vergessen, daß es der Mangel an Entspannung nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg war, der mit beharrlicher Logik zu der Geburt und dem Aufblühen des Nazismus führte.“ Kahn wies dann darauf hin, daß die aufgrund des amerikanischen Leih- und Pachtgesetzes an Rußland gelieferten Waffen „wesentlich“ zum sowjetischen Sieg über die Deutschen beitrugen.

Doch von einem streng ideologischen Standpunkt aus gesehen, lassen sich die während des Zweiten Weltkriegs zwischen der Sowjetunion und den kapitalistischen Mächten bestehende Partnerschaft und die gegenwärtige Entspannung zwischen den beiden Lagern nur durch eine forcirte Auslegung der grundsätzlichen Lehren des Marxismus-Leninismus rechtfertigen. Erstens gebrauchen die Konservativen in der Partei oder bei den Nachrichtenmedien, die streng an den überlieferten Grundsätzen festhalten, selten das Wort „Alliierte“ um die Allianz während des Krieges zu beschreiben. Statt dessen bedienen sie sich des russischen Wortes für „Koalition“. Unter Koalition versteht man eine viel lockerere kurzfristige Verbindung, als mit den Wörtern „Allianz“ oder „Alliierte“ ausgedrückt wird. Offensichtlich ziehen

die sowjetischen Ideologen den Begriff „Koalition“ vor, denn er versieht die Zusammenarbeit während des Zweiten Weltkriegs und die gegenwärtigen Beziehungen zwischen Ost und West mit dem Vorzeichen des Vorübergehenden.

Außerdem wird in sowjetischen Geschichtsbüchern, einschließlich der neuesten, für Oberschulen und andere höhere Bildungsinstitutionen anerkannten Ausgaben, die traditionelle Parteilinie hervorgehoben, daß nämlich die Sowjetunion durch den „kapitalistischen Imperialismus der westlichen Welt“ in den Zweiten Weltkrieg hineingezogen worden sei und durch gewisse westliche Regierungskreise, die die Hitler-Horden nach Osten hin gegen die UdSSR ablenken wollten. (Diese Bücher erwähnen natürlich nicht die andere Auslegung, nämlich daß Stalin im August 1939 sein Bündnis mit Hitler schloß, um eben diese Horden nach dem Westen abzulenken — in eine Richtung also, die sie dann auch tatsächlich einschlugen.)

Diese härtere Linie wird von den wichtigsten Sprechern der Breitkräfte vertreten, die anlässlich des Jahrestages Gedenkreisen gehalten und Artikel geschrieben haben. Sie erzählen den Sowjetbürgern, daß der Imperialismus sich bis auf den heutigen Tag nicht geändert hat, daß sich die Gefahr eines neuen Weltkriegs im wesentlichen immer noch auf das Weiter-

bestehen des Kapitalismus mitführen lassen. Dieser rote Faden zieht sich durch die Erklärungen der hohen Persönlichkeiten wie des Verteidigungsministers und Mitglied Politbüros, Marschall Andrei Grechko, und des Chefs des Politischen Führungsgremiums der Streitkräfte General Alexei Jepschew.

Und doch scheint in diesem Jahr, wenn es darum geht, welche Bedeutung die Allianz während des Krieges für die Entspannung hat, die gemäßigtere „zivile“ Linie die härtere in der Diskussion zu drängen. So wurde zum Beispiel in der Pravda ein seltenes Foto von sowjetischen und amerikanischen Soldaten veröffentlicht, wie im April 1945 Arm in Arm in Torgau in der Nähe der Elbe aufmerksame sowjetische Soldaten es wahrscheinlich nicht übersehen, das Bild von niemand anderem als Informationsamt der amerikanischen Regierung stammt — und wurde der Eindruck erweckt, daß die Russen es abgelehnt hätten, ein Bild zu veröffentlichen, das jener kurzen Kameradschaft von Jahren gewidmet wäre.

Albert Weeks ist Professor an der New York University und Verfasser zweier Bücher über sowjetische

Comment Ivan voit ses camarades du temps de guerre

par Albert L. Weeks

La collaboration qui existait entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union soviétique pendant la seconde guerre mondiale vient de faire l'objet d'un traitement mitigé

par les journaux soviétiques. Les officiels de la ligne officielle d'une tension idéologique entre le point de vue actuel de la détente et la théorie marxiste-Léniniste.

Le courant idéologique de détente que soutiennent les alliés les plus proches de Leonid Brezhnev traite cet anniversaire comme fournissant l'évidence que la collaboration américano-soviétique est à même d'éviter les guerres mondiales. A Washington, de même qu'à Moscou, M. Brezhnev, parlant de la « coalition » en temps de guerre entre son pays et les pays capitalistes de l'Ouest, a déclaré qu'elle était essentielle à une compréhension véritable de la base sur laquelle s'appuie aujourd'hui la détente entre l'Est et l'Ouest.

Récemment la Pravda a publié un long article d'Albert Kahn, porte-parole américain pro-soviétique. Le quotidien citait, et par conséquent approuvait

sans réserve, les remarques suivantes de M. Kahn : « Parlant de l'urgence nécessaire actuelle de détente, nous ne devons jamais oublier qu'en fait ce fut l'absence de détente après la première guerre mondiale qui eut une longue et douloureuse existence, en entraînant le fait que les journaux militaires américains aux Russes, en vertu de la loi du prêt-bail, ont joué un rôle « important » dans la victoire soviétique sur les Allemands.

Toutefois, d'un point de vue strictement idéologique, l'association des puissances soviétiques et capitalistes pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, aussi bien que la détente actuelle entre les deux camps, infligent une tension aux enseignements fondamentaux marxistes-Léninistes. Et tout d'abord, les traditionalistes du parti ou des agences de presse emploient rarement le mot « alliés » pour décrire l'alliance du temps de guerre. Ils se servent plutôt du mot qui traduit bien « coalition ». Coalition implique un lien à court terme beaucoup plus lâche que le terme « alliance » ou « allié ». Les idéologues soviétiques préfèrent de toute évidence « coalition » parce que ce mot revêt un

sons du provisoire aussi bien quant à la collaboration de la seconde guerre mondiale qu'en ce qui concerne les rapports actuels Est-Ouest.

De plus, en U.R.S.S. les livres d'histoire pour les écoles secondaires et pour l'enseignement supérieur soulignent la position traditionnelle du parti selon laquelle l'Union soviétique avait été entraînée dans la seconde guerre mondiale par « l'impérialisme capitaliste de l'Ouest », et par la conspiration de certains milieux dirigeants de l'Ouest désireux de détourner les hordes hitlériennes vers l'est contre l'U.R.S.S. (Ces livres, bien entendu, ne tiennent aucun compte de l'autre interprétation, à savoir que Staline avait conclu son pacte avec Hitler en août 1939 afin de détourner ces mêmes hordes vers l'Ouest, comme ce fut bien le cas.)

Les principaux porte-parole de l'armée, se faisant l'écho de cette position plus dure, ont prononcé des discours commémoratifs et écrit des articles à propos de cet anniversaire. Ils disent aux citoyens soviétiques que « à ce jour l'impérialisme n'a pas changé de nature » et que le principal danger d'une nouvelle guerre mondiale provient tou-

jours et encore de l'existence du capitalisme. Cette opinion, à travers les déclarations de hauts placés que le sont le ministre de la Défense, membre du Politburo, le général Andrei Grechko et l'administrateur politique des armées, le général Alexei Yegorov.

Quoi qu'il en soit, une position militaire plus modérée sur l'anniversaire en question semblerait l'emporter sur la position plus rigide à propos de l'alliance en temps de guerre. Sur la toile de fond de la détente, par exemple la Pravda vient de publier récemment une photo très rare de soldats soviétiques et américains marchant bras dessus bras dessous dans la ville de Torgau en avril 1945. Mais on ne manque pas de remarquer que cette image n'était due qu'à l'Agence soviétique d'information — donnant aux Russes l'impression que les Américains seraient refusés de faire une photo illustrant une aussi brève et délicate d'il y a trente ans.

M. Weeks est professeur à l'université de New York; il a écrit deux livres sur les affaires soviétiques.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Der göttliche Haushalt

Wenn man den hohen Preis für ein Brot oder für Fleisch sieht, ist man versucht zu bemerken: „Ist das nicht schrecklich!“ Angesichts des materiellen Augenscheins machen wir uns die Annahme zu eigen, daß sich die Weltwirtschaft in einem alarmierenden Zustand befindet.

Früher oder später werden wir nicht mehr auf diese Weise reagieren dürfen und statt dessen nach einer geistigen Lösung suchen müssen.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft* enthüllt, daß uns im göttlichen Haushalt, in dem sich Angebot und Nachfrage die Waage halten, alle Dinge zum Besten dienen. Das ist keine Theorie, sondern eine beweisbare Tatsache.

Ist es logisch — wenn man einmal darüber nachdenkt —, daß der all-

mächtige Gott, die göttliche Liebe, ein Universum erschaffen würde, in dem Seine Kinder etwas benötigen, was nicht herbeigeschafft werden könnte? Oder ein Universum, in dem irgend etwas reichlich vorhanden wäre, wofür keine Verwendung bestünde?

Selbst ein intelligentes menschliches Wesen würde ein besseres System ausarbeiten, und wir können absolut sicher sein, daß der allwissende Gott es noch viel besser eingerichtet hat — besser, als wir es uns vorstellen können, denn Gott, das göttliche Gemüt, kennt nur Vollkommenheit. In der Bibel, im ersten Kapitel des ersten Buches Moses, befindet sich ein Bericht über die wirkliche, geistige Schöpfung: „Gott sprach: Lasset uns Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sei,

die da herrschen über die Fische im Meer und über die Vögel unter dem Himmel und über das Vieh und über alle Tiere des Feldes.“ „Und Gott sah an alles, was er gemacht hatte, und siehe, es war sehr gut.“

Mangel ist nichts Gutes; Armut ist nichts Gutes; daß Hunderttausende verhungern, ist nichts Gutes. Der Bibel gemäß können sie dann also nicht zur Schöpfung Gottes gehören, können nicht wirklich sein und sollten nicht als Tatsache angesehen werden. Aber — so mögen wir fragen — kann man diesem Bericht über eine vollkommene Schöpfung trauen? Ja, denn er kann bewiesen werden. Und er wird in der ganzen Welt täglich, ja stündlich von zahllosen Männern und Frauen be-

wiesen, die den Herausforderungen des Materialismus mit geistigem Verständnis begegnen und mit dem Vertrauen auf die Fähigkeit Gottes, für Seine Schöpfung, einschließlich des Menschen, zu sorgen. Wir können dies in unserem eigenen Leben zu beweisen beginnen. Wir können auf den göttlichen Haushalt vertrauen. Hiermit soll nicht dem bloßen Optimismus das Wort geredet werden. Es ist eine Forderung nach demütigem, verständnisvollem — und wirksamem — Gebet.

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt im Vorwort zum Lehrbuch der Christlichen Wissenschaft: „Für alle, die sich auf den erhaltenden Unendlichen verlassen, ist das Heute reich an Segnungen.“ Jeder kann heute die Richtigkeit dieses Ausspruches beweisen.

* 1. Moses 1:26, 31; * Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. vii.

* Christian Science; sprich: k'rist'yan s'ay'ans

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesezimmern der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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* Vous pouvez obtenir un exemplaire de ce livre en envoyant \$8.00 avec le coupon ci-dessous.

* 1. Genèse 1:26, 31; * Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. vii.

* Christian Science; prononcer: k'rist'yan s'ay'ans.

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BIBLE VERSE

Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. ... And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.

Luke 6:28, 31

By Gordon H. Converse, chief photographer

The beginning of a new day



OPINION

Governing with a touch of arrogance

By Francis Renny

When British politicians want to talk political theory, they don't waste time trying to catch Mr. Speaker's eye in the House of Commons: they write to the editor of the Times. At present they are standing in line to get into the letters page.

It all began on April 28th with a copyright article by a relatively obscure Labour Party MP Robert Kilroy-Silk — formerly a political scientist, Mr. Kilroy-Silk accused the Wilson government's critics of making a hysterical outcry ("hysterical" now being the favorite British adjective for dismissing one's opponents) every time it did anything socialist. It was time people realized, he maintained, that politics was about power, not about bargaining or compromise or spurious consensus. The function of a government was to impose its values upon society, perhaps with a touch of arrogance. In a pluralist society there were bound to be irreconcilable points of view which could only be resolved by partisan legislation. Labour's socialist program had

been "sanctioned by success at the polls and reinforced by the mandate theory." It was time to say (politely, quietly but firmly) "We are the masters now."

What followed was well-bred uproar. Letter-writers objected that no government was "the master" — it was always the servant, and the servant of the community as a whole. To claim that, once elected, a government need no longer consider the wishes of those who had not voted for it was outrageous.

Critics of Mr. Kilroy-Silk have seized upon two points in particular, and they are of considerable interest to students of British political theory and practice. They are the claims that Labour policy has been "sanctioned by success at the polls" and "reinforced by mandate."

What success? What mandate? demanded Professor Max Beloff, of the University College at Eppingham. He and other correspondents went on to point out that at the last elections, Labour got less than 40 percent of the votes cast and less than 30 percent of the

qualified electorate, which was hardly a striking success.

Mr. Kilroy-Silk will be able to retort that, under the rules (of which the Conservatives would have been only too happy to avail themselves if the situation had been reversed) Labour had won fair and square. He will hardly want to acknowledge the claim by Liberals and other small parties that the entire plurality system is unjust and that it is time Britain had a system of proportional representation.

However, there remains the theory of mandate: that if a party agrees on a multi-page manifesto at its annual conference, and then goes on to win the subsequent election, then it is justified in claiming the authority to put any or all of the document into effect through legislation.

Once again, the size of the government's popular vote has been used to cast doubt upon this particular instance. In his original article Mr. Kilroy-Silk himself acknowledged that the mandate theory had its deficiencies: though he asserted there was no alternative. The

alternative, as most British academics are to dismiss the theory altogether. They have always been reluctant to codify constitutional workings, but the fact is "mandate" enjoys no official standing.

In theory, British MPs are elected individuals to do as they see fit once they are admitted to any party or any program. Labour supporters tend to regard this as a piece of upper-class chivalry designed to thwart the will of the workers. Conservatives regard it as a necessary socialist totalitarianism. Moreover, they insist, no party is wise enough to know everything it will need to do in its mandate.

The British public, one facetious servant is liable to do it. On the one hand it is getting weary of government spend half their time undoing what the government did. At the last election close to giving nobody a mandate anything.

By Victor Zorza

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The Kremlin's greatest concern about the fall of South Vietnam is that it may turn the United States away from detente.

Although the Soviet press refrains from exploiting Washington's discomfiture over Vietnam, it is stressing the need for the continuation of detente. To stop now would endanger what has already been achieved, says Izvestia, quoting a recent speech by Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev. Detente, he insisted, was a process that required "constant movement forward."

The reason for the Kremlin's concern is to be found in the need, as it is perceived in Washington, to assert the continuing world role of the United States. President Ford has made the point by stressing the military might of the United States when he commissioned the new aircraft carrier Nimitz recently.

For Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, "this is a time, once again, for America to choose" whether to maintain its military strength.

For Moscow, this means that the United States may well insist on building up its military strength — a trend about which Soviet analysts have been showing increasing concern lately. The signs from Congress already suggest that the cuts in military

appropriations are not going to be so large as they were expected to be.

The suspension of the SALT negotiations in Geneva, while both delegations return home for consultations, is due partly to the hardening of the U.S. attitude. The U.S. has demanded certain changes in the terms of the accord as worked out in Vladivostok, and this in turn has caused the Soviet Union to ask for compensatory changes.

Washington made it clear to Moscow quite early in the year that failure to make sufficiently rapid progress in Geneva would lead to a postponement of Mr. Brezhnev's July summit visit to the United States until September. This gave Washington a strong card, because Mr. Brezhnev's political calendar, leading up to the 25th Party Congress next February with a series of major foreign policy successes, required a SALT agreement and a summit in early summer.

But now the card has been played, the summit has been postponed, and other delays in Brezhnev's calendar are also becoming apparent.

Moscow wanted a European Communist conference to precede the 35-nation East-West summit meeting in Helsinki. The first conference was to show how Mr. Brezhnev had managed to re-establish the Kremlin's hold over European Communist parties. The second meeting was to crown his effort, pursued so doggedly since 1966, to hold a European

security conference. But now the Communist meeting has been postponed until after the security conference, which is itself in danger of delay because of continuing failure to resolve some of the remaining differences.

One reason for the various delays is that Mr. Brezhnev is perceived to be "a man in a hurry," with a deadline to meet, and is therefore being asked to make concessions. But if his own calendar really requires a series of foreign policy successes to culminate in his triumphal retirement at the party congress, and if these can be obtained only in exchange for concessions, Mr. Brezhnev is laying himself open to the same criticism that was directed at former President Richard M. Nixon in his last months in office.

Those Soviet leaders who do not like some aspects of his foreign policy now are in a position to argue that Mr. Brezhnev is pursuing personal rather than national interests. They would object that to make the concessions being demanded of Mr. Brezhnev would leave them, after his retirement, to pay the real price for his present "triumphs."

When Mr. Brezhnev says, and Izvestia repeats, that detente requires constant progress, that to stop now would endanger past achievements, he may be speaking not only to the West but also to those who are dragging their feet in Moscow. He may be warning them that the national mood in the United

States does not favor such progress, and that detente itself is therefore in danger.

The Soviet press repeatedly rejects the argument of Western critics of detente who claim that it has been of more benefit to the Soviet Union than to the West.

At the same time, however, this is the very argument that is being used in the internal Soviet debate over detente. At one time, Soviet supporters of increased trade with the West painted the benefits to be derived from it in such glowing colors as to imply that it was worth making the concessions the West demanded, because the Soviet Union stood to gain so much.

Now it is the disruption of the West's alliances that is presented as a major Soviet gain from detente.

No doubt there are many other, less controversial, benefits of detente, but Izvestia has blurted out one advantage that is more important to the Soviet Union than anything it could gain from the U.S. withdrawal from Indo-China. The Soviet Union can hardly be blamed if this is one result of detente, and for wanting to preserve both detente and its results at a time of misgivings about past foreign policies occasioned in the U.S. by the fall of South Vietnam.

But the unity of the West is not incompatible with detente — provided the will is there, and the political leadership to make that will effective.

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Melvin Maddocks

A confusion of tongues

George Bernard Shaw, a man who knew a confrontation when he saw it, described England and the United States as two countries divided by a common tongue. As if to illustrate this maxim the British magazine Encounter (co-edited by an American, Melvin J. Leask) recently published an article titled "Amerenglish" by an Australian living in New York.

Here, it would seem, was a model case of even-handed justice, worthy of a linguistic Solomon. Alas, the subject proved too volatile to be defused even by such exquisite tact. A few issues later Encounter ran a symposium in which stern exceptions were taken.

The tone may be indicated by quoting a few opening remarks from the historian Hugh Brogan. Ever since Byron was fascinated by the Americanism "I guess" (Mr. Brogan began) "the English have been aware that a foreign language was current across the Atlantic, and over the years they have acquired a certain familiarity with it, even a certain relish. . . . Americans are at last acquiring an interest in the opposite phenomenon, an

alien mother-tongue. . . . But oh dear! they have a long way to go."

The American, Mr. Brogan suggested, "hasn't really mastered the tune." He should read his "Pygmalion," he should review his Nancy Mitford.

What had Ian Ball, the author of the original article, done to exacerbate Shaw's civil war? Practically nothing. Rather mildly he made the usual catalogue of equivalents: flat-apartment, plimsoll-speakers, boot-trunk. With no evidence of partisanship he explained that a "bomb" in the London theater means a hit, in the New York theater, a flop. There was the usual theorizing (or theorizing) about -ize versus -ise. The dropping of "u" in American spelling (harbour, harbor; colour, color) got duly noted.

For his almost bland restraint, Mr. Ball was scolded by the poet and historian Robert Conquest (born in England of an American father and an English mother): "Everyone who actually writes about Anglo-American linguistic differences always seems to get things wrong."

The novelist Honor Tracy responded by declaring her pet peeves, including the suffix -wise (as in "probability-wise") and "hopefully," as in: "They told me that he would hopefully come, but regrettably he did not."

Others in the symposium detested "vibes" (American) and "quieten" (English). The BBC was held to be traitorous for supporting a transition from "lorry" to "truck," if not from "tin" to "can."

The New Bible was muttered at, along with French

existentialism ("only those who have tried to edit an article by a Left Bank philosopher know what suffering is").

More than one symposiast accused the "academy" of being "the chief source of pollution."

In short, nobody seemed to know quite who the enemy was. But certainly it was not "Amerenglish," looked at from either end. For the corruption of language, like other battles today, can no longer be fought on nationalistic lines. Matching every Englishman now calling his "house" a "home" and leaving either or both to go to the "movies" there is an equal and opposite American who shudders at all the telling it-like-it-is and longs for a little elegance in his language: a touch of the Mandarin.

But if the excitement is not really about Amerenglish, perhaps it is not even about language itself. "It's the things, the mental habits, we should be watching," the post-essayist D. J. Enright concluded, "not the words themselves." Whether we speak clipped nasal slang or rolling Churchillian periods, breaking clause-by-clause like waves on Dover beach, what none of us can shake is the cultural uncertainty, the confusion of intellectual and moral tone that seems to afflict all languages at the moment.

To be unsure of our language is to be unsure of our thoughts and our very convictions — and finally, if we are unsure of ourselves. The true enemy is the Tower of Babel; and, as always, Babel is not on somebody else's tongue but in our head.

Richard L. Strout

The great gun scandal

Washington President Ford told his press conference this week that he does not support handgun registration, or the licensing of owners. In a speech on crime recently at Yale Law School he called for stiffer sentences for criminals, particularly those using firearms but he did not discuss registration. Now he states flatly that he opposes it.

Attorney General Edward H. Levi wants handguns banned in high crime metropolitan areas. Presumably President Ford agrees. It sounds like a rather unrealistic expedient of on-and-off regulation — depending on crime statistics. It could postpone or defeat a stronger measure.

Strong measures are pending in Congress. Last month 45 bills had been introduced, indicating a wide degree of public support. The firearms lobby appears alarmed, and last week the National Rifle Association held a "summit conference" to resist what it called "the barrage of half-truths and outright lies from the anti-gun and anti-hunting groups currently flooding the news media."

The National Rifle Association, with a million members, operates from its own eight-story building here with a magazine, American Rifleman, that grosses \$1,800,000 annually in advertising; and it boasts that it can produce, within 72 hours, more than half a million letters or telegrams to a timid Congress on any gun bill. This is the great gun lobby.

Last month NBC aired an hour-long documentary, "A Shooting Gallery Called America," in which narrator Carl Stern noted efforts to get White House comment. He argued that there is little chance of getting national licensing-regulation legislation without support of the President against the gun lobby. Why a legitimate sportsman should object to having handguns licensed or banned in the cities is hard to understand, though doubtless it is a feeling that if licenses are asked for handguns they will be asked for all firearms.

Federal handgun regulation probably won't come unless it gets White House leadership. Some unless it gets White House leadership. Some unless it gets White House leadership. Some unless it gets White House leadership. Some unless it gets White House leadership.

The Canadians have also made considerable efforts to get White House comment. He argued that there is little chance of getting national licensing-regulation legislation without support of the President against the gun lobby. Why a legitimate sportsman should object to having handguns licensed or banned in the cities is hard to understand, though doubtless it is a feeling that if licenses are asked for handguns they will be asked for all firearms.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer
Pistol in police custody

White House told us it did not wish to respond on that subject."

Now Mr. Ford has responded plainly. He is against handgun registration. No bill, probably, can pass without his support. Meanwhile crime rises. Serious U.S. crime jumped 17 percent in 1974. Social instability, like a recession, brings more crime. And there are 40 million handguns loose in the United States.

No other nation has so many of the killer weapons; no other nation has the record of handgun slaughter; no other nation is so heavily armed in case of domestic unrest or social turbulence. Attempts have been made on the lives of eight American presidents and four have been killed. Politics by assassination is made easier by free access to handguns or other firearms; it was the assassination of President Kennedy that led Congress to pass the present weak federal law against importation and mail-order sales.

A man buys a handgun to protect his home, but odds are 5-to-1 that somebody in the household will be injured by the gun rather than an intruder. Every two minutes in America there is a gun crime; Tokyo, the world's largest city, has three handgun murders a year — New York City 538. New York bans handguns but cannot keep them from coming in from outside. There is perhaps no single circumstance on which a foreigner coming to the United States is more astonished and shocked than the high crime rate and the permissive attitude towards handguns.

Charles W. Yost

Portugal: a time for wisdom

Washington For the past two months an atmosphere of gloom and doom has enveloped discussion in the West of the Portuguese political situation.

Dirge predictions were made that under the long dictatorship of Salazar the Communists had become the only effective political party, that the Armed Forces Movement which carried out the coup d'etat a year ago was dominated by Communists, that the election of April 25 would be a sham, that a cold Communist coup was in the making.

The consequences of all this, it was predicted, would be either a withdrawal of Portugal from NATO or its remaining as a Trojan horse; the loss of the United States base in the Azores; establishment of a Soviet naval base in the Atlantic; jeopardy to Spain; and the beginning of the crumbling of NATO's southern flank.

None of this happened. The elections took place as scheduled with 92 percent participation and only 8 percent spoiled or blank ballots. Far from receiving a sweeping and implausible popular endorsement the Communists got only 13 percent and their allies 5 percent. The lion's share of the vote went to the moderate Socialists and the Popular Democratic Party.

The Armed Forces Movement, which obviously is in charge, had just as obviously conducted its campaign in an entirely free election. Either the leftist elements in the movement are not as powerful as has been feared, or they are not totalitarian, or they have judged it wise to be cautious and restrained: it is possible that the Soviet Union may have wisely decided to exert whatever influence it has on the side of caution; lest detente be disrupted.

That is the good news, but of course it only reflects one stage in a long, delicate, and unpredictable process. There could still be bad news at some later stage.

The ultimate outcome will depend most of all on the Armed Forces Movement. Before the elections it obliged the political parties to sign a pledge to leave decisive authority in its hands for the next year. This may have been wise. After 40 years under a rigid dictatorship, the Portuguese parties and people cannot be expected to exercise all at once all the requisite skills of self-government.

Usually, for various reasons, officer corps tend to lean Right rather than Left. The

Portuguese AFM seems to be an exception. The Left is clearly strong within it, perhaps as a reaction to the long and fruitless colonial war they were obliged to fight. But how strong is the Left? Will it be impressed and sobered by the results of the election? How much, if any, power will it share?

Only time will reveal the answers, but in the meantime the United States and Portugal's European allies can very probably, if they act either wisely or unwisely, have some influence on the outcome.

If they should continue to look on Portugal primarily as a potential spearhead of communist intrusion into the West, if they should, boycott or cold-shoulder its government because it nationalizes some banks and businesses, if they treat its representatives as second-class citizens in NATO, if the U.S. seems to be toying with the idea of separatism in the Azores in order to preserve its military base, all of these attitudes will play into the hands of the Communists.

The wise policy is exactly the opposite. Political sympathy and support should be unequivocal, though not effusive. Badly needed economic aid, closer association with the European Economic Community, should be generously offered and promptly supplied. The Portuguese Government and people should be steadily reassured that they are an integral part of the Western European family.

The world is entering a new era in which, as the Vietnam experience demonstrates, both the maintenance and the overthrow of the status quo by military intervention will be increasingly hazardous and ineffective. The external means to achieve these ends, to the extent that external intervention is used at all, should henceforth be overt and legitimate political and economic cooperation.

There are likely during the next decade or two to be many more cases like Portugal in which a nation in pursuit of modernization and greater internal justice gropes and stumbles between Left and Right. The United States and Western Europe have an opportunity in this case to exercise the diplomacy, the flexibility, and the far-sightedness which, with the military option much less available, will be required increasingly in the future.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

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His Majesty ate sparingly

John Gould

A small story in this newspaper told us that Canada had finally made the beaver official symbolism, and I had grown up thinking that was done long ago. Probably I was misled by the tale of how Prince Rupert brought an annual prime pelt to The Crown as rent on his land — it was a smallish levy on such an immense territory, but the manner in which delivery was brought off added greatly to the value.

The story did tell us the beaver has long been pictured on the Canadian "fi-cent nickel" but did not add that the Queen shares this honor. Back along, she was a young lady and her head on the obverse was small enough to leave room for "Elizabeth II Dei Gratia Regina."

Not long before Elizabeth's succession, her father made a state visit to Canada, and the magnificence of his tour was a parade of

oneupmanship as each city and province tried to outdo all the others. The monumental moment would be when he arrived at the ancient citadel of Quebec, and was at the mercy of the management of the Chateau Frontenac. But the Royal Train, brought from England for the tour, was delayed a day, and this set up a situation that is somewhat reminiscent of Prince Rupert's beaver skin.

Since the Chateau Frontenac is one of the world's distinguished inns, and the shrine of the French-Canadian cuisine, the reporters accompanying the tour made ample grist of the incomparable food prepared there to sate His Majesty. And, you see, because the King came a day late, the entire banquet had to be hove out, and duplicated on the morrow. "Twice the trout that delighted me."

The fish course was native eastern brook

trout, perhaps the most delicate of poisons. An incredibly precise manner of providing them was arranged. Two ardent and purist anglers of international repute were to be flown far into northern Quebec and set down on a remote pond as yet unflicked by artificial fly. They could use only one special fly (a royal coachman, I think it was) and their rods were like moonbeams and their lines like spider webs. Barbless hooks, naturally. A canoe was lashed to the floats of their plane, and with them was a famous north country guide. The trout had to be taken in a certain period of the afternoon, leaving just time enough to fly them to Quebec — the sooner a brook trout gets into a pan the better. And, each trout was to be matched to the ounce; the guide threw back those that were too big or too small. No other fishing trip ever operated on such strict rules. And, precisely on schedule, 200

brookies were flown into Quebec and delivered to the chefs at the Chateau.

But the King didn't arrive. So the two anglers flew back to the pond and another 200 matched trout, and then as before.

The newspaper accounts dwell on duplication of effort to please the King. They explained in detail the careful manner in which the chefs prepared these delicacies. Then, the story ended: "His Majesty ate sparingly."

The Canadians have also made considerable efforts to get White House comment. He argued that there is little chance of getting national licensing-regulation legislation without support of the President against the gun lobby. Why a legitimate sportsman should object to having handguns licensed or banned in the cities is hard to understand, though doubtless it is a feeling that if licenses are asked for handguns they will be asked for all firearms.

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